

**Urban Megaprojects: How they are justified and who they benefit. The case of
Century City.**

by

Mariam Kamalie KMLMAR003

Dissertation submitted in part-fulfilment (END5037Z) for the award of

Degree of Master of Philosophy

Urban Infrastructure: Design and Management (EM027)

in the Faculty of Engineering and the Built Environment

University of Cape Town

February 2020

Course convenor: Professor Neil Armitage

Supervisor: Professor Vanessa Watson

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

DECLARATION

I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all the work in the document, save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own. This thesis/dissertation has been submitted to the Turnitin module (or equivalent similarity and originality checking software) and I confirm that my supervisor has seen my report and any concerns revealed in it have been resolved with my supervisor.

(Signature)

Signed by candidate

14/02/2020

ABSTRACT

All over the world, megaprojects have become entrenched and firmly positioned in the development of cities and have become instrumental and critical in their position and functioning. The need for sites to be developed encompassing mixed-use requirements, was soon to make its impact in developing countries. Investors and developers were considered the experts in urban development through these projects. The now notable effects from the surge in megaprojects in developing countries in the wake of decaying infrastructure and migration to cities and urban spaces, warrants analysing, studying and investigating existing, especially more current mixed-use megaprojects.

Megaprojects built with the motivation of the criteria for “enhancing and developing” the urban space for its citizens that encourages economic, social and environmental growth would be alluring to any governing administration. This is because they can be considered as developments that will address the spatial patterns of apartheid, creating inclusive and integrated urban spaces. Considering these impacts, Century City, as a commercial mixed-use mega project development is a relevant case for study. My dissertation analyses and interrogates the factors that influenced and substantiated the development of Century City from its inception to the present. I will examine how the development coexists, and complements or not, Cape Town and its people and how it may or may not support the policy approaches toward a successful African city. I question whether megaproject developments in our cities, is development that transmits to the entire city and its community.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I am thankful and grateful to the Almighty Allah, for providing me with strength and perseverance to compile this dissertation.

Many individuals made sacrifices, assisted and guided me with this work. I wish to make special reference to the following:

- My supervisor, Prof. Vanessa Watson, for her guidance, assistance and tremendous patience and whose own work inspired me.
- My husband, Allie Kamalie, for holding the fort, making sure that our children and I had food and clean clothes. I'm not sure I know how to cook or use the washing machine anymore. Thanks for supporting me all those nights (and days) while I was doing my research and writing. I love you.
- Thanks to my children, Saligh, Abbaas, Tahseen and Fayyaadh for your continuous motivation when I was ready to give up. I love you all and pray that my completing this dissertation will inspire you too.
- Thanks to Nigel Titus, especially those early days, when I had no idea where to start with the dissertation and for guiding me and directing me to the interview candidates

CONTENTS

Urban Megaprojects: How they are justified and who they benefit. The case of Century City.....	1
DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
CONTENTS	iv
LIST OF FIGURES	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The role of megaprojects in urban development scholarship	2
1.3 The relevance of this study	2
1.4 The motivation and purpose of the study	3
1.5 Feasibility of the study.....	3
1.6 The research problem statement	4
1.7 The research questions.....	4
1.8 Objectives of the study.....	5
1.9 Research Design	5
1.10 Chapter sequence.....	5
1.11 Conclusion	6
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 What are the characteristics of a just city?	7
2.3 Defining urban megaproject characteristics	10
2.4 How and why private-sector led urban megaprojects have come to dominate cities	12
2.5 What has the impact of these megaprojects been on cities?	13
2.6 What has been the role of, and impact on, local governments?.....	16

2.7 Conclusion	18
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH and METHODOLOGY	20
3.1 Introduction	20
3.2 Research Design and Approach	20
3.3 Research strategy	25
3.3.1 Sampling	25
3.3.2 Data sources and data collection	26
3.3.3 Data analysis and interpretation	28
3.4 Reliability and Validity	30
3.5 Limitations	32
3.6 Ethical Considerations	32
3.7 Conclusion	33
CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT / BACKGROUND	34
4.1 Introduction	34
4.2 Context.....	34
4.3 Locality.....	37
4.4 Initiating Century City	38
4.5 Rezoning of Century City	39
4.6 Municipal planning approval.....	40
4.7 The Century City Urban Development Framework (CCUDF).....	43
4.8 Century City profile	43
4.9 Century City 20 years later.....	45
4.10 Conclusion	48
CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS	50
5.1 Introduction	50
5.2 The contribution of Century City to the City's vision of spatial transformation.	51
5.2.1 Infrastructure and design	51
5.2.2 Environmental sustainability.....	53
5.2.3 Public Transport.....	54
5.2.4 Public Participation.....	55
5.2.5 Economic opportunities.....	56

5.3 The applicant and municipality's key justifications of the development..	57
5.3.1 The inception of Century City	57
5.3.2 Municipal approvals	59
5.3.3 Business improvement and development opportunities	60
5.4 Observations.....	61
5.5 Documents.....	66
5.5.1 Century City Urban Design Framework (CCUDF).....	66
5.5.2 Increased development and bulk rights through public transport implementation and the densification policy.	67
5.5.3 The Municipal Planning By-Law of 2015.....	71
5.6 Conclusion	72
CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION	74
6.1 Introduction	74
6.2 How has Century City contributed or impacted the municipality's vision of spatial transformation for Cape Town?.....	75
6.3 What were the key justifications by the applicant and the City for the approval of Century City in terms of City policy and legislation?	77
6.4 Who benefits from megaproject economic growth and economic development?.....	81
6.5 Conclusion	84
CHAPTER 7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS.....	86
7.1 Introduction	86
7.2 Policy influences – does policy influence whom megaprojects benefit?	86
7.3 Policy guidance – Are policies clear enough to direct transformative mixed-use megaproject development.....	87
7.4 Whom did the Package of Plans approach benefit?	88
7.5 Social collaboration and public partnerships in urban policy	89
7.6 The politics of megaprojects in spatial reform	90
7.7 Conclusion	91
CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION	92
8.1 Introduction	92
8.2 Lessons from the study	93

8.3 Urban megaprojects contributing to future planning in Cape Town.....	95
8.4 Concluding remarks	96
REFERENCES	98
Appendix 1: Information Sheet.....	107
Appendix 2: Information Sheet.....	108
Appendix 3: Questionnaire.....	109
Appendix 4 2014 &16 CT Economy at a glance.....	111
Appendix 5 Business nodes performance.....	112
Appendix 6 2010 &18 CC property trends	114

LIST OF FIGURES

- Fig. 1 Conceptual Research Methodology Framework
- Fig. 2 Key Stakeholders
- Fig. 3 1996 Municipal Boundaries
- Fig. 4 Unicity in Dec. 2000
- Fig. 5 Current municipal boundaries
- Fig. 6 Century City location
- Fig. 7 Summary of the development over years
- Fig. 8 Site Development Plan (approval 14 August 1996)
- Fig. 9 Site Development Plan (approval 9 December 1997)
- Fig. 10 Century City demographic profile
- Fig. 11 Century City economic profile
- Fig. 12 Century City income table
- Fig. 13 Boundary wall
- Fig. 14 Field visit
- Fig. 15 Field visit
- Fig. 16 Field visit
- Fig. 17 Field visit
- Fig. 18 Public Transport Interchange (PTI) locations
- Fig. 19 Distance of about 750m walk from furniture lifestyle store to taxi rank
- Fig. 20 Field visit - Pedestrian bridge
- Fig. 21 Field visit - view
- Fig. 22 Field visit - Pathway from bridge to taxi rank
- Fig. 23 Walk from Century City Rail to Canal Walk
- Fig. 24 View A - Field visit
- Fig. 25 View B - Field visit
- Fig. 26 Original nodal development along corridors. CCUDF
- Fig. 27 Current nodal development – 2018 SDF
- Fig. 28 MyCiti bus routes in Century City
- Fig. 29 Schematic MyCiti bus routes in Century City
- Fig. 30 Development Investment SDF, 2018
- Fig. 31 New Ratanga site development plan

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CC	Century City
CCDRC	Century City Design Review Committee
CCPOA	Century City Property Owners' Association
CCUDF	Century City Urban Development Framework
CoCT	City of Cape Town
CTSDF	Cape Town Spatial Development Framework
DBSA	Development Bank South Africa
DFA	Development Facilitation Act
DHGP	Department of Housing and Government and Planning
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth and Employment and Redistribution
HDI	Human Development Index
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IUDF	Integrated Urban Development Framework
LGTA	Local Government Transition Act
LUPO	Land Use Planning Ordinance
MPT	Municipal Planning Tribunal
MRA	Milnerton Ratepayers' Association
MSA	Municipal Systems Act
MSDF	Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-government Organisation
PAWC	Provincial Administration Western Cape
PRASA	Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa
PTI	Public Transport Interchange
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACN	South African Cities Network
SEP	Socio-Economic Profile
SDF	Spatial Development Framework

SPA	Special Planning Areas
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act
TOD	Transport Orientated Development
TRUP	Two River's Urban Park
UN	United Nations
USDG	Urban Settlements Development Grant
V&AW	Victoria & Alfred Waterfront
VPUU	Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The rapid growth of city populations has resulted in the focus on urban renewal or development through large scale services infrastructure, such as dams, roads, air and sea ports, as well as building construction of housing, offices, entertainment and other commercial activity structures. Developments like these, with very large funding investments, are defined as megaprojects (Harris, 2014, Flyvbjerg et al., 2003). Megaprojects have therefore become instrumental and critical in the position and function of cities. Turok (1992), observed how urban megaprojects were viewed and considered by many city administrators as the means to developing their cities rapidly thereby growing city economies and attracting investment. More than ten years later, Zekovic (2016) concurs that governments substantiate megaprojects as instruments to transform and regenerate cities, fostering successful economies by creating employment opportunities, increasing the gross domestic product (GDP) and in turn providing a means to (Harrison, et al, 2008; Turok, 2013) address spatial, social and economic inequalities.

South African cities are predominantly poor and the shortage of housing and other basic services has resulted in many mega housing projects, however housing projects alone do not grow the economies of cities or attract investment. The need for sites to be developed encompassing mixed-use and commercial investments, was soon to make its footprint in developing countries (Kennedy et.al., 2014; Sutherland, 2015; Baud, 2015). Often it was investors and private developers (hereon also referred to as developer/s) who are considered the experts in urban development through mixed-use development. Large foreign investments brought along their own ideas of how megaprojects are to be developed (Shatkin, 2007). These ideas have shaped the urban landscapes of developing countries, often in the shadow of western cities (Kennedy, 2015; Kardez et al, 2013). It is argued that these type of developments often perpetuate further spatial divisions and debilitate city spatial reform and socio-economic objectives of inclusivity and integration (Turok, 2001; Lemanski, 2007; Todes, 2010; Kennedy, et.al, 2014). This dissertation seeks to

examine these city objectives of reform through the lens of a mixed-use megaproject, namely Century City.

1.2 The role of megaprojects in urban development scholarship

Academics such as Flyvbjerg, Davis, Roy, Watson, Moulaert, Swyngedouw, Neil, Rodriguez, Kennedy, Turok, Shatkin, Gellert and Lynch, Fainstein, etc are, but a few of the scholars who were intrigued by megaproject effects. Many of these scholars agree that megaprojects can play an important role for governments in addressing the demand on cities to grow economies through creating jobs and encouraging investment, and through providing accommodation.

The overarching factor of urban population growth compels greater demand for megaproject development in Global South cities, such as in Brazil, India and South Africa (Kennedy, 2015, Robins, 2015). Funds have become readily available in these countries, either through higher spheres of government or international investors (Kennedy, 2015). Foreign and local developers have understood and responded to this demand, already being knowledgeable of the benefits they could yield. Governments, on the other hand, have tended to support the concept of megaprojects as part of their quest to position their cities in the global arena. The effects of urban mixed-use megaprojects on urban functioning as well as on aspects of inclusion or exclusion, have sparked debate and sometimes protest against these developments, especially in cities in the global south.

1.3 The relevance of this study

The notable effects from the surge in megaprojects in developing countries in the wake of decaying infrastructure and migration to cities, warrants the relevance of this study. The outcome of these projects, and whether they are adding value to South African cities and more importantly addressing the needs of communities, freedom of movement and opportunities in a post-apartheid era, are being questioned more often.

The case of Century City was initiated from a vision to make the City of Cape Town

‘world class’ with a thriving place for business and municipal revenue, while others predicted that it would fail economically (Weekend Argus, 2017). Whatever the views and predictions, the development has spatially reshaped Cape Town. Policy makers are probed in this dissertation on how they are providing an integrated inclusive city, given that Cape Town is sometimes referred to as the most spatially divided city, 23 years post-apartheid. I question how Century City may or may not have contributed to, and impacted on, Cape Town as a city and its people and who really benefits under the various justifications of such developments: have benefits been to developers in terms of profit; to the municipality in terms of rates revenue; and to certain income groups in Cape Town in terms of access to shops and housing?

1.4 The motivation and purpose of the study

I am motivated further by my general concern for the impact and division Century City development has on the already significant spatial divides, but also how the developers may have addressed (or claimed to address) these.

The research purpose of my dissertation is to analyse and interrogate the factors that influenced and substantiated the development of Century City from its inception to present. I will examine how the development addresses issues of social and spatial inequality in Cape Town and how it may or may not support the approaches to urban development set out in planning and policy documents at various levels of government.

1.5 Feasibility of the study

Century City in particular, was a feasible case study in terms of the relevant scope of the dissertation, and important in terms of access and availability of resources to conduct the study. The time frame required to complete the study was sufficient as per the requirements for a minor dissertation for this study. Although this topic was not previously interrogated in a minor dissertation, to my knowledge, articles and papers were written and published and it has been discussed in various fora. Literature such as these discussion papers, government documents, available studies on megaprojects and importantly the human resources directly involved,

made exploration as well as the ability for observation possible.

1.6 The research problem statement

South African cities are highly spatially unequal, both as a result of apartheid planning and subsequent market forces which have reinforced older divisions. In Cape Town there are major income differences between populations living on the Cape Flats and metro south east to those living closer to the CBD. Poorer households on the Cape Flats and metro south east also have much lesser access to job opportunities or public services and facilities. As a result, all Metropolitan Spatial Development Frameworks (MSDFs) since the first one in 1996 have encouraged investment in areas that lack employment opportunities. However, over the past two decades very little of this has occurred and Cape Town remains highly unequal (Turok, 2016).

The proposal in the late 1990s to launch the Century City project was in direct contradiction to the 1996 MSDF, yet it was approved in a very short period by the municipality then governing this part of Cape Town. Hence one of the largest private sector developments in Cape Town has potentially contributed to the spatial inequality of the city. Yet the developers have argued that there have been significant benefits to the City from Century City in the form of revenue and access.

Megaprojects undoubtedly contribute to, and impact on social-economic growth, governance, spatial equity and integration. It is for these reasons as stated in the previous paragraph, that the Century City development as a megaproject, provides the ideal setting for a case study.

1.7 The research questions

Arising from the preceding, the following questions will form the basis of my study:

1. How has Century City contributed to the municipality's vision of spatial transformation for Cape Town?
2. What were the key justifications by the applicant and the City for the approval of Century City in terms of City policy and legislation?
3. What are the lessons learned from the case study and how can they

contribute to future planning in Cape Town?

1.8 Objectives of the study

The objectives for my dissertation, in line with the research problem statement, are to:

- Engage the literature in understanding what constitutes a just city, megaproject impacts and characteristics;
- Interrogate the contribution of planning approval processes and policy implications in motivating the Century City development;
- Explore the key stakeholders;
- Reflect on issues of design and effects on the surrounding areas and general economic and social impacts;
- Identify the target market and the influence of planning of the development;
- Question possible intended or unintended spatial impacts on greater Cape Town; and
- Analyse the findings through qualitative research methods, using the case study design.

1.9 Research Design

The case study design is applied in this dissertation, using qualitative research methods to gain information about Century City. These qualitative methods include in-depth interviews, and analysis of policy documents, newspaper reports and other reports on Century City. These interviews and reports are subjected to “discourse analysis” by interpreting the findings to answer the research questions. The triangulation research technique is used to interpret the secondary and primary data collected against each other to establish the validity and reliability in analysing the findings. This is elaborated on in the research methodology chapter.

1.10 Chapter sequence

The sequence of chapters to this introduction is as follows: Chapter 2, the literature review, examines published papers where similar megaprojects are interrogated.

Chapter 3 undertakes to determine the research methodology, based on Robert K. Yin's book, *Case Study Research, Design and Methods* (4th edition), amongst others. This chapter will explore the best approach during the collection of data. Chapter 4 will contextualise the background of Century City during its inception. Chapter 5 and 6, the findings and analysis, will discuss how the data collected, associates and answers the research questions. The dissertation concludes with policy implications in chapter 7. This chapter will examine how urban policies and mixed-use megaprojects influence and affect each other and in turn the urban environment.

1.11 Conclusion

Debates around the development of cities have been countless and often fierce in the last two decades. Coming out of an apartheid era and having been part of an evolving democratic community, I recognise the undeniable reality of the megaproject trajectory of our city, and question whether a development such as Century City is indeed one that transmits to development of its entire community in the context of spatial reform.

The Integrated Urban Development Framework (IUDF) of 2014, stipulates that if South African urban development is to become "socially integrated, economically inclusive and globally competitive" (IUDF 2014, p6) by 2030, it is absolutely vital that the instruments and mechanisms employed, must be guided by clear and persistent spatial development goals. Megaproject development as one of these instruments therefore requires closer examination and understanding to guide future mechanisms and collaboration between private investment and public benefit.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The reason for the study is to contribute to the discussion of the phenomena of mixed-use megaprojects as a catalyst for progress of cities and its citizens, underpinned by global social and economic trends. The literature demonstrates increased interest in this phenomena in Global South cities.

This chapter engages with the literature of scholars on mixed-use urban megaprojects. The knowledge variables will enable an informed analysis of the findings. The literature will further facilitate framing the context of Century City as a case study. Mixed-use megaprojects are therefore used as a lens to examine the theoretically broader knowledge of urban inclusivity and integration in the context of government policy's strategic objective in addressing spatial disparities in Cape Town.

The literature on the idea of a "just city" is explored to understand how the theory may be incorporated into future planning that will contribute to the principles of urban spatial equity through inclusivity, integration and ultimately socio-economic improvement. The research question on how and by whom megaprojects are motivated and justified, is considered through the theory on the characteristics of megaprojects. The review further considers how mixed-use megaprojects contribute negatively or positively by engaging the knowledge on how they impact cities (hence communities) and the role of and impact on government.

2.2 What are the characteristics of a just city?

Fainstein (2010, p3) defines a just city as a city that produces "equitable outcomes" through "public investment and regulations". However, what is considered good in one part of the world may relate to different needs in another part of the world, hence would require different methods of transformation and management (Shatkin, 2008). Fainstein (2010) concurs, but emphasises that justice should form the basis in transforming and managing cities where all its inhabitants create, share and partake in the forming of the city, while the city is still able to maintain global exchanges.

The impacts of megaprojects on cities in the 20th century, has resulted in great concern and investigation of city development in the 21st century. How cities respond to these challenges are important to ensure resilience and sustainability for all its inhabitants. As cities have become global destinations, the need for liveable, safe and economically viable spaces are sought after (Pieterse, 2008; UN Habitat, 2012; C2S – Braathen, 2013; Turok, 2016; Kennedy et al., 2013), hence cities need to conform to global values of urban equity and justice (Harvey, 2011; Roth, 2012), and should correspond to “human social needs instead of the capitalist imperative of profit-making” (Brenner, et al. 2009, p178). Policy documents such as the IDP and SDF promote foreign and private investment as a means to advance economic growth. A growing economy may assist in the development of a more equitable socio-economic city and in the case of Cape Town, may guide positive change toward spatial equity. However, capital accumulation or economic development drivers should not subjugate or subdue social change.

Fainstein (2013) reviewed traditional planning principles and outcomes, and identified basic fundamental global principles of a just city; namely, “equity, diversity and democracy” (Fainstein 2013, p12). She focusses on the case studies of 3 developed country cities and compares the values projected through the projects implemented and how they can contribute to the planning of just cities. Equity, she believes, should be addressed when drafting policies, where all income groups are accommodated in housing, economic development and transport. She emphasise the need to scrutinise megaprojects, in particular, avoiding relocation as much as possible, site location, opportunities and public amenities. She encourages diversity to be incorporated into design by planners through mixed-use, integrated and inclusive developments for all communities. Public participation across diverse communities and collaborative, transparent communication for the implementation of projects, form key elements of democratic planning enabling non-discriminatory, honest and fair planning for cities (Fainstein 2013; Roy 2010; Shatkin 2011). Amin (2006), describes a good city based on similar ideals where “the principles of social justice, equality and mutuality” (Amin 2006, p1021) are important characteristics of an environment under constant change, where these changes are to be “mobilised for common gain and against harm and

want” (Amin 2006, p1020). Harvey (2008) argues that the right to the city should encapsulate these components for all its inhabitants rather than for the individual. Amongst other development, megaproject implementation should be guided through policies and planning principles that incorporate transformation that leads to an alliance and agreement between all citizens and aspires toward equitable, diverse and democratic outcomes.

How these elements are translated into the transformation and development of the city, has been captured and interrogated by scholars such as Harvey (2003, 2008 and 2011), Fainstein (2009, 2010 and 2016), Amin (2006), Brenner, et al. (2009), Marcuse (2009), amongst others. Should it be a good city or a just city? Who would have the rights to this good and just city? While these studies guided law makers and governments, it also empowered social groups to lobby against inequalities and lack of participation in the planning of urban development, (Fainstein, 2010; Harris, 2014; Bornstein, 2010).

The literature reviewed in the preceding paragraphs concurs on the key characteristics of planning for a just city. Brenner, (2010, p177), however emphasises the need for “understanding the nature of contemporary patterns of urban restructuring, and then, on that basis, analysing their implications for action” towards a more equitable and just city. While the trend and belief is that the city can only be “managed by an enlightened urban elite” (Amin, 2006, p1021), it is often social resistance that directs unjust structures to be reviewed by those in power (Amin, 2006). It has become a tendency to entrust certain groups of people as having the aptitude to champion urban development. The majority of citizens are often overlooked and not properly engaged. It is when civilians protest these practices as unfair, that governments review policy and enact change.

In South Africa unjust spatial patterns created segregation and injustice for a majority of people, especially in cities (Lehman-Frisch, 2011). The elected post-apartheid government of 1994, developed policy framework and legislation in relation to space integration, housing, transport, land-use planning, environmental, etc., as a means to

restructure cities into equitable, accessible and inclusive cities (Turok, 2013). Integrating these components into mixed-use developments could transform cities to attain these ideals (Fainstein, 2009; Sutherland, et. al, 2015, Harrison, et.al. 2008), however, it has taken the South African government many years after apartheid to endorse spatial and zoning scheme reforms within legislation (Turok, 2013).

2.3 Defining urban megaproject characteristics

Megaprojects are very large scale, costly and complex infrastructure and land development projects (Flyvbjerg et al., 2003; Altshuler and Luberoff 2003, Oliomogbe and Smith, 2012). Gellert and Lynch (2003) further categorise them to be often a combination of infrastructure, extraction, production and consumption. This literature explores urban mixed-use megaprojects, which often involves infrastructure but notably includes commercial and residential land uses; namely, malls, offices, entertainment, tourist-orientated accommodation and private real estate (Gellert and Lynch 2003; Orueta and Fainstein, 2008; Oliomogbe and Smith, 2012).

The characteristics that define mixed-use megaprojects are noted to be similar around the world (Sutherland, et al, 2015). The most prominent characteristics identified in the literature reviewed (Flyvbjerg, 2017; Bunnell, 2013; Harris 2014; Kennedy, et al. 2013; Swyngedouw et al, 2002; Yang, 2015; Fainstein, 2005, Orueta and Fainstein, 2008), were that they are very costly (with many challenges and risks), often developed as a precinct and are “poorly integrated” (Swyngedouw et al, 2002; p547; Harris 2018) into its surrounding spaces. They usually provide middle- to high-end residential, office and corporate accommodation, and consumer services that focus on the knowledge industries (Harris 2014 cites Montgomery, 2007 and Moretti 2013). These projects attract large investments. Funds may be raised by the developers, and they include high levels of operational management as well as amenities. (Othman, 2013; Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003).

Megaprojects often derail municipal urban development plans (Fainstein, 2008), however, not always negatively, (Sutherland, et al, 2015), with many megaproject successes, although they may take long to yield results and many years to be

completed (Priemus et al., 2008; Flyvbjerg 2014, Harris 2014). Megaprojects are strategically located, they impact the urban structure and landscape and affect “millions of people” (Flyvbjerg, 2014, p 3), while public participation is kept at a minimum. (Flyvbjerg, 2014; Oreuta & Fainstein 2008; Brenner et al., 2009; Kennedy, et al., 2011; Bordorf et al., 2016). Cost overruns, public and private opposition and environmental factors, are some of the risks and challenges confronted by megaproject development (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Megaproject development may contradict or enhance municipal goals and because private megaprojects encompass large private investment, transparency and public involvement are often neglected.

Groups associated with the disciplines of engineering, planning, designing, economic and real estate professionals are inspired and are often the drivers of megaproject development (Flyvbjerg, 2017; Harris, 2014; Kennedy, 2015). Flyvbjerg (2017) explains that megaprojects are often trend-setting instead of being an extension of what already exists, in that they become leaders in their provision of services, construction engineering and technological advancement. This is achieved through incorporating innovative, futuristic and complex initiatives, often unprecedented in conventional urban development, Quality of construction and service are emphasised and have come to attract the growing middle class (Yang 2014). Megaprojects are directed at the end-user satisfaction and often provide trending needs for middle to higher income clientele (Yang, 2015). Because of these similar characteristics and aspirations, urban megaprojects across the world have cultivated a distinct culture interlinked to political and economic structures (Harris 2014). Bunnell (2013) and Marshall (2003) further expound that mixed-use megaprojects are measured by how well they are able to attract investment, large corporate firms, innovative and extraordinary architectural designs, cutting edge engineering and satisfy up-market residents and visitors. However, these projects are able to increase and foster competition within metropolitan areas as well as attract and advocate competition (Swyngedouw, et. al, 2002). The bases for most mixed-use megaproject successes, are the consistency in their “rationale, delivery methods and outcomes” (Harris, 2014, p2). The developer’s extraordinary visionary ideas are maintained in the processes and methods of implementation and continues through to the quality of deliverables

and operational maintenance.

2.4 How and why private-sector led urban megaprojects have come to dominate cities

Urban renewal programmes aimed to grow and build economies of cities to connect to the international economy, have been taking place around the world and require large scale investments (McDonald, 2008; Lemanski, 2007, Pirie, 2007). This has become a revived phenomenon in northern cities and a new one in the developing and Global South cities (Gellert and Lynch, 2003; Roy, 2010; Shatkin, 2007; Harris 2014; Turok 2016). Megaprojects can become costly for governments and therefore investments from other sources were sought, more often from private sector investment (Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003; Kennedy, 2015).

Post-apartheid South Africa, in 1994, experienced spatial and infrastructural inequalities with an urgent need for restructuring of urban (and rural) spaces (Donaldson, 2001; Turok, 2016), and subsequently they “have pursued a range of urban renewal programmes” (Visser and Kotze, 2008, p2565 cites Gotham, 2001; Turok and Mykhnenk, 2007). At this time South Africa was entering the world economic markets as a democratic, free-market economy (Morange, 2011) and welcomed private sector investments (Kennedy, 2015). Public-private partnerships by means of megaprojects are considered to foster economic growth as they involve global exchanges and investment that enable government to build infrastructure for cities, which would in turn (they claim) provide employment, increase the gross domestic product (GDP) and lower the Gini coefficient (the gap between high and low earnings per household) (Lemanski, 2007; CoCT Economic Growth strategy, 2013).

Shatkin (2008) notes that for these reasons governments are persuaded by private-sector developers “to liberalize their economies” (Shatkin, 2008, p387), by creating “a globalized cosmopolitan economically and competitive city” (Shatkin, 2011, p79). This implies a situation where both economic trade (of goods, services and materials), investments (through capital) and various relationships are promoted in cities (Turok, 2013), creating spaces where people of different cultures and origin integrate and

embrace a common mutual principle regarded as cosmopolitanism (Ulrich, 2005; Vittorio, 2012). Globalization also implies activities or events which affect cities politically, socially and economically and directly impacts communities at a local level (Donaldson, 2001; Harris, 2014; Kennedy et al. 2015; Douglas, 2005).

The worlding phenomenon, as phrased by Roy (2010), of mixed-use megaprojects, often dictates international criteria of aesthetics in design and planning innovations (Swyngedouw and Moulaert, 2002). In addition to this world “standard”, these mixed-use megaprojects pose less risk of resistance on greenfield or “undeveloped land” (Turok, 2016, p1). Developers, on the other hand, assume tremendous risks when entering into megaproject developments, especially with regard their own and other financial investments, which in turn encourages them to dictate their own target market (Oakley, 2014). They are therefore very strategic and meticulous in their planning and management, which further can take the form of demands for where the development is located and the type of business activities which would yield best returns (Robinson, 2002; Sassen, 2001; Scott et al., 2001). Hence their target market is often directed at the growing middle and upper income groups, who aspire to the acquisition of goods that portrays and positions them as having a global cosmopolitan lifestyle (Brenner, et al., 2012). This growing trend has given greater autonomy to private sector developers to pursue justification for their developments (Gellert and Lynch, 2003; Kennedy, 2015; Fainstein, 2005; Orueta and Fainstein, 2008).

2.5 What has the impact of these megaprojects been on cities?

Determining factors of the impact megaprojects on cities are where the development takes place, what it comprises, stakeholders and their motives, infrastructure requirement and socio-economic influences (Viruly and McGaffin, 2015 ACC symposium). In this section of the literature review, I include the effects it has on its people, as the impacts on cities translate to impact of the people residing in cities.

In 1991, Turok expressed that private developments without the required property market control and management, could result in major effects on the “financial fabric” and quality of life of those residing in cities (Turok, 1991, p361). This appears to be

substantiated today, where existing communities are bypassed, and there is poor management of resource allocation, inequitable distribution of economic activity, negative social impacts and extensive displacements of the existing poor (Roy 2010, Robbins 2015, Kennedy 2015; Harris, 2014).

Accessibility to space, services and infrastructure is being redefined and the various urban megaprojects contribute to the formation of different types of urbanism in cities (Ong, 2006; Swilling 2011; Roy, 2010). Whereas certain megaprojects divide the cities, others are created in a way to pass over or around it, and are distanced from the existing urban structure and residents (Roy 2010). This, Shatkin (2011, p384) describes as “bypass-implant urbanism”; an example of which is urban megaproject development in Manila in the Philippines. He cites academics, such as Benjamin (2008), Harvey (1989), Fainstein (2001), Ong (2006), and Roy (2011), etc. who ascribe megaproject development to a variety of new urban characteristics described as “worlding” urbanism (Sheppard et al., 2013, p4; Roy, 2014, p9; Ong and Roy, 2011). Worlding implies cities being in a constant state of striving in competition with other cities to seek a global profile and acceptance (Roy and Ong, 2011).

Gellert and Lynch (2003), argue that megaprojects impact the physical landscape in various ways. It displaces natural and other materials on the site by often flattening the site to prepare it for the megaproject development. Whether it is dirt, earth, rocks, natural fauna and flora species, it ultimately alters the geological and biological interactions of nature and the visible appearance of the city. People are displaced from the sites to be developed. (Gellert and Lynch, 2003; Harris 2014). In some cities such as Nairobi, Lagos and South African cities, settlements are relocated, many of these being informal settlements of people who had moved to cities for a better life (Ilesanmi, 2010; Turok, 2016). Existing surrounding communities and business may either yield benefit or impact negatively through increases in property value, expansion of business, access to amenities and other services in the megaproject development or experience isolation from the secured megaproject activities. Businesses may suffer losses of customers to the megaproject.

Megaprojects provide cities with the opportunity of networking both nationally and internationally, creating networks which are considered to foster valuable contribution to the socio-economic improvement (Bunnell, 2013, Kennedy 2015, Swyngedouw et al., 2002). It is further seen to improve the position of metropolitan areas in the global and local arena (Harris 2018). Urban megaprojects usually comprise large innovatively designed buildings and are therefore considered to improve the infrastructure stock of cities (Fainstein, 2008; Harris, 2018; Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003; Turok, 2016). The better and more buildings and amenities a city has, the more advanced, and progressive cities are considered to be, which is a questionable assumption. They further note that megaprojects often attract further revenue to cities through tourism, high-end housing and corporate office accommodation. Cities are further transformed with the addition of transport infrastructure (Orueta & Fainstein, 2008; Oakley & Rofo, 2005; Moulaert et al., 2003; del Cerro, 2013;) to accommodate access to these projects. Other mixed-use megaprojects form nodes of services along transport routes (either existing or new), providing a mixed-use of services industries, amenities and accommodation that often contribute to high densities in cities, which is essential to the objective of many urban planning objectives for cities (Harris, 2014). New or improved transport and other service infrastructure is often included in the planning and implemented to access and accommodate megaprojects opportunities (Harrison, 2014). Zamorano and Kulpa, (2014) observe that if mixed-use developments are inclusive and integrated; there is less use of vehicles and more use of public transport and walking or cycling, reducing GHG emissions, noise and other air pollutants. Shared spaces of mixed-use developments improve the sense of community, allowing communities to gather, interact and network, whether for business or leisure (SACN, 2006). These benefits to the city are possible with determined commitment from all stakeholders, such as government, planners, private developers and the public (Kennedy, 2015).

While there are many advantages to cities of megaproject developments, there are as many concerns and criticisms that require to be addressed, especially so in the developing global South cities (Kennedy 2015, Harris 2018). Harris (2014), cites Fainstein, (2010) and Brenner and Theodore, (2005), in that the aspiration and

pressure to create globally competitive cities, while claiming to address local social and environmentally just cities have created strain on city planning and may compromise or reduce local participation and opportunities. While mixed-use megaprojects provide a range of accommodation for city living, social or affordable housing is often absent or inadequate and impacts on equitable distribution (Oakley, 2014), which in turn impacts the diversity in terms of income groups.

Lemanski, 2007, notes that in cities in the south, more so in Cape Town, government finds it difficult to culminate the two agendas of global advancement and local needs through urban megaprojects which causes “the poor and their spaces to ultimately suffer” Lemanski, 2007. In Cape Town, South Africa, a development such as Century City (amongst other mixed-use developments such as Tyger Valley, Cape Gate), has contributed to spatial disparity and inequality, as it is concentrated in the already well-resourced northern part of the city (Lemanski, 2007 cites Watson, 2002). Lemanski further argues that while mixed-use development increases global investment and various types of networking (such as business, tourism, information system and technology, sports and conference events, etc.), this continues to happen “alongside the growing polarisation of its spaces and social groups” (Lemanski, 2007, p385). Turok (2016) concurs that most often local spatial transformation, inclusive economic opportunities and integrated social structures may be compromised by this new agenda of global competitiveness. However, megaprojects are considered by government to provide the opportunity to overcome socio-economic challenges (SACN, 2017).

2.6 What has been the role of, and impact on, local governments?

In many developing countries, megaproject developments are implemented at a national government level (Lemanski, 2007; Turok, 2016; Kennedy et.al. 2011), whereas in South Africa greater autonomy resides with local municipalities (Watson, 2002; Kennedy 2015). Local government obtains budgeted funds from its own rates and tax base, as well as from national government sources, such as the Urban Settlements Development Grant (USDG) in South Africa. These funds are directed at correcting apartheid era spatial inequalities, through service-related infrastructure

delivery (Pérez-Bustilloet, 2016; SA National Treasury). Local governments in South Africa do not generate enough revenue from their local or national sources to correct all spatial inequalities and therefore also resort to public-private partnerships for these kinds of infrastructure developments (Lemanski, 2007; Kennedy, 2015).

Through regenerating of the central city and strategically planned nodes throughout the city, government is sometimes able to attract this investment to the city (Robbins, 2014; Lemanski, 2007). This often leaves the poor to be displaced to the outskirts of the city (Gellert and Lynch, 2003). It has been a challenge for local governments to find a balance between regenerating the city for the global market while improving local socio-economic disparities, such as unemployment, infrastructure and quality of life for the larger part of the community, as they argue that the former is required to employ the latter (Kennedy, 2015). Orueta, et al. (2008) and Kennedy (2013, 2015) agree that governments struggle to maintain this equilibrium and therefore this influences how urban spatial policies are drafted, and interpreted. Megaproject development impacts the approach and platform used by local governments in the way they engage with developers as well as with the public and community organisations (Bornstein, 2010), where urban megaprojects often gave rise to a different set of politics and planning, “outside the realm of ‘normal politics’” (Kennedy, 2015, p3), in terms of decision-making, directing public investment and public participation standards and regulations (Harris, 2018; Anabestani, 2016; Kennedy 2015, Shatkin, 2011, Leitner et al., 2007; Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003;) Megaproject details and information are limited and not readily available to communities and public bodies in many of the urban megaproject developments across the developing world, where they only come to know of it when construction commences (Harris, 2014 and 2019; Kennedy, 2015; Benjamin, 2014; Shatkin, 2011; Orueta and Fairstein 2009; Altshuler and Luberoff 2003; Kennedy et al., 2011)

Megaprojects influence planned government development, such as directed nodal developments, land-use arrangements and patterns, type of economic industries and government administration (Lemanski, 2007; Robins, 2014; Gellert and Lynch, Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003; Kennedy, 2015). Transformational adjustments for

megaproject development are considered necessary by governments and are measured on the improvement it affords the city to attract investment, which would in turn generate revenue through rates, tourism, and global economic relations (Orueta & Fainstein, 2008; Harvey, 2009; Swyngedouw et al., 2002), as well as improve local infrastructure development and management (Sutheland, 2015). This would then translate into job creation and revenue to support funding government objectives such as improving the lives of their citizens. Projects might also act as a stimulus for investment in under-developed parts of the city (Lemanski, 2007). Further to this the developer contribution to public services and amenities and overall city objectives are highlighted as projects that will improve urban development (Swyngedouw et al., 2002). Citizen and urban progress intended by governments are sometimes impacted negatively, because “although many cities (including South Africa’s) are promoting pro-poor strategies alongside the drive for global competitiveness, there are concerns that the polarising consequences of the latter inhibit the effectiveness of the former” (Lemanski, 2007, p450).

In many of the cases studied in Global South cities, it was found that planned government projects are either stalled or derailed to accommodate the external investment-orientated projects (Shatkin, 2008). However, there has been rising resistance and protest action by civil society against both higher and local government, to challenge the exclusionary methods used to implement urban megaprojects (Jordhus-Lier 2014).

2.7 Conclusion

The literature reviewed on a just city agrees that the standards for a just city should consider principles that hold true to global human values, whereby:

- All people in a city should have more or less equal access to the opportunities a city offers and should not be centred on individuals or groups;
- Political systems should enact legislation of open and fair public participation, enabling citizens to be able to guide planning decisions; and
- Recognise and incorporate diversity in its varied forms such as mixed income and mixed-use facilities where both local needs and global competitiveness

are able to co-exist, creating integrated and accessible spaces of growth and accommodation.

There is an overwhelming consensus on the knowledge that megaprojects have common characteristics in both implementation and outcomes. The theory identifies that possibly the most profound characteristic is that of altering the urban landscape. A landscape change may affect the local and lower income communities due to spatial inequality, fragmentation and local governments deviating from municipal plans. Local communities are often unaware of these higher levels of planning and it is often too late for them to effect appropriate change. The theory suggests that the private developer or investor is at the heart of mixed-use megaprojects with regard to the expertise and funding to develop and secure investment, influencing and impacting government administrations. The literature reviewed recognises the benefits of megaprojects to the city, in the form of tax revenue, infrastructure development, commercial and employment nodes, but points out that the working class have to often travel far distances to employment opportunities created by megaprojects.

Reflecting on the urban megaproject research, it is evident and may be best as described in the writing of Altshuler and Luberoff (2003), in that these projects often have influence on or over political systems, and private-sector developers often have the ability to exercise authority over government administration. Shatkin (2011, p81), concurs with the works of Fainstein (2001); Harvey, (2008); Ong (2006) and Smith (2002), that governance tools are employed to achieve development through megaprojects. A new system of planning is required to achieve outcomes of just, equitable coexistence that improves the lives of all the city's citizens (Sutherland, 2014). The interest and study by academics on megaprojects has led to greater awareness of megaproject impacts and benefits.

CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH and METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to explain the research methodology and methods applied to conduct and analyse the research. Firstly, it references the knowledge underpinning the research after having investigated the theoretical assumptions derived from the literature review chapter in respect of the megaproject phenomenon. Thereby, secondly, it explains which research approach and design were applied and why, and thirdly, the research strategy and techniques utilised to endeavour to achieve validity and reliability of the research conducted. Unless otherwise referenced, I draw from the works of Robert K. Yin (2009) and Anol Bhattacharjee (2012) in describing and conducting the research for this dissertation.

Century City is chosen as a case study, as it is the only megaproject in Cape Town of the kind discussed in the international literature in terms of urban mixed-use megaproject.

3.2 Research Design and Approach

Municipal Spatial Development Frameworks for local governments were established to guide spatial reform. Despite this clear and bold goal, South African urban areas, more than 20 years post-apartheid, continue to be spatially divided, with Cape Town considered as one of the most inequitable spatially divided cities in the country. Mixed-use megaprojects have become known as a worldwide phenomenon in addressing the regeneration and transformation of cities. Century City is a mixed-use megaproject within Cape Town, conceptualised in the early 1990's, but initiated after 1994, post-apartheid, at a time when spatial transformation was foremost on the agenda of the new democracy. My dissertation examines this phenomenon within the context of spatial equity and transformation goals. My dissertation is therefore a single case study research design.

The dissertation goal is focused on how Century City was justified and motivated and whom it benefits. It is analysed by firstly examining the theoretical framework of megaprojects in the literature review chapter. This was done by examining how the

literature hypothesises, from empirical investigation, the principles of a just city. This allows me to ask whether Century City is consistent with the characteristics recognised in urban megaprojects and of a just city. The conceptual framing of Century City explored within its context, background and as an instrument of urban development, is a megaproject phenomenon under normal current circumstances, occurring over a period of time. Therefore, it may be considered as a unit of analysis in expanding on the theoretical framework of urban spatial development.

The purpose of this dissertation is to explore the impact and / or contribution of Century City as a mixed-use megaproject as an instrument to achieve spatial goals of the City of Cape Town. This dissertation endeavours to understand the theory and framing circumstances in relation to the processes, practices and outcomes in implementing Century City as a commercial mixed-use megaproject. This translates to the theory of mixed-use megaprojects being tested on an empirical level. My research explores and describes the abstract concept through continuous observation by going back and forth between the relationship of theory and empirical parallels, thereby strengthening and refining the theory (Bhattacharjee, 2012). He further notes that homogeneous methodological techniques “such as how to make valid observations, how to interpret results, and how to generalise these results”, constructs the knowledge to be scientific (Bhattacharjee, 2012; p5). Spatial equity in urban planning theory links space to human justice, where peoples’ lives and living conditions are realised through the access of resources and opportunities. Zekovic, et al. (2016; p2), summarises this as “theory combining the processes of agglomeration/polarization, land use and human interactions in conditions of the existence of the urban similarities and differences”. Governments, especially local government in South Africa, have been elected, and is responsible and accountable to ensure and / or guide spatial transformation by means of policy and governance.

The larger problem statement of spatial equity and transformation therefore translates into the three key research questions:

1. How has Century City contributed to or impacted on the municipality's vision of spatial transformation for Cape Town?

2. What were the key justifications by the applicant and the City for the approval of Century City in terms of City policy and legislation?
3. What are the lessons learnt from the case study and how can they contribute to future planning in Cape Town?

While this type of research may produce valuable quantitative data in the form of statistical analysis, spatial equity within an urban development ambit affects the urban environment on various social levels, such as diversity in social integration, equity in economic inclusivity and democratic progressive outcomes in policies. For this and the reasons set out in the preceding paragraph, a single case study design following a qualitative approach method is therefore applied to my dissertation. Yin (2009) emphasises the need to ask the questions “how” or “why” in a case study. Yin further suggests five components to be important in this design methodology. Relating this to my study: My study’s key questions, expanded from the goal of megaproject justification and who it benefits and the purpose of spatial transformation, frame the conceptualisation and approval of Century City through the municipal guidelines and policies. The former (purpose) being the propositions of the study, i.e. the intent of exploring spatial transformation, grounded in the research questions. This intent is analysed using a unit of analysis, that of Century City as a megaproject. Yin (2009) emphasises the importance of these three components to solidify one’s research and further forming the foundation of the fourth and fifth components; namely, the data collection techniques and interpreting the findings.

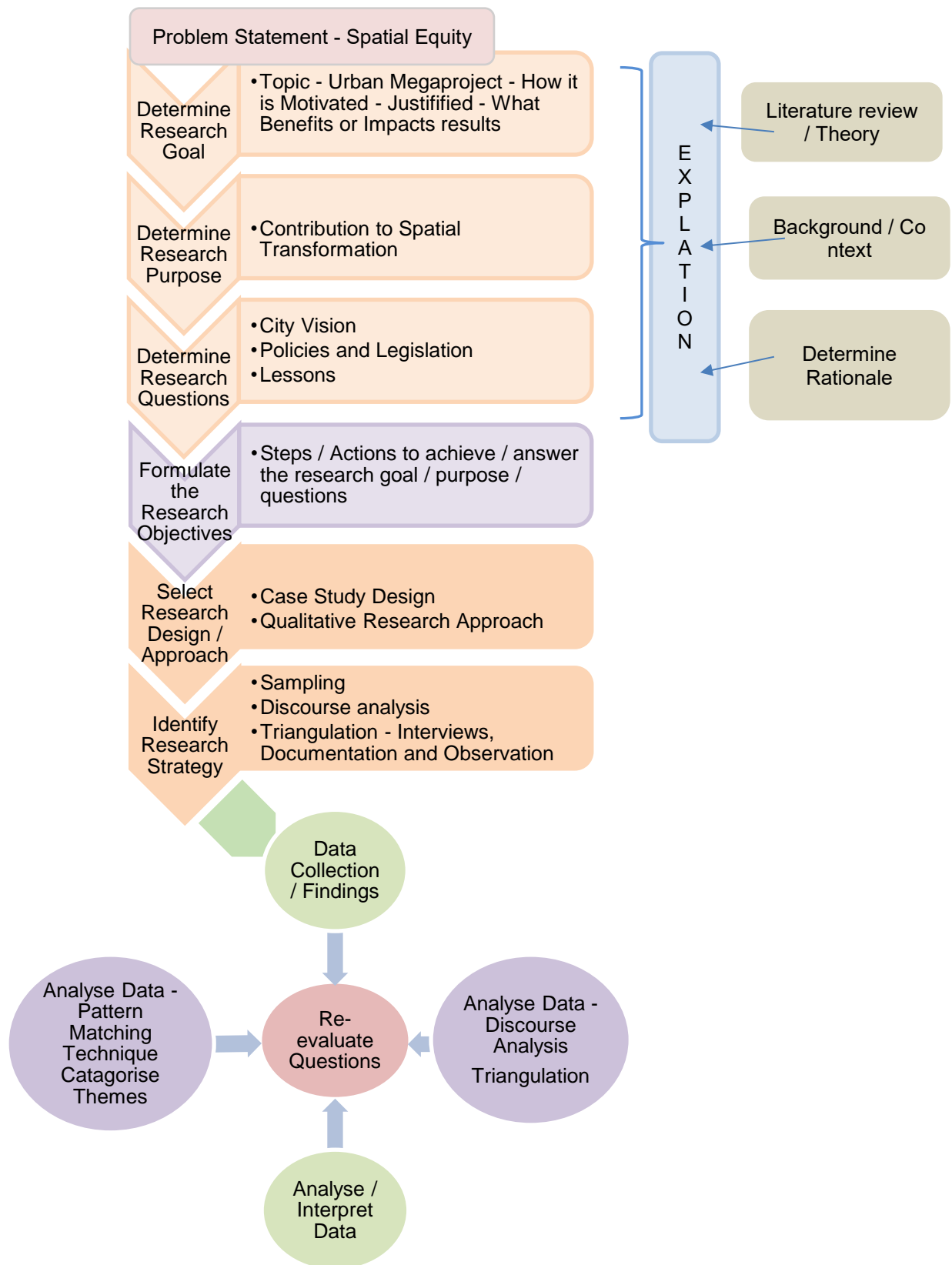
Further to the above, the research design is based on exploring the Century City history and tracking events and possible consequences from 1990 when it was but a vision and then rezoned from residential to a mixed-use property. The interdisciplinary connection, collaboration and critique, in the case of Century City to the current urban framework, seen through the “eyes” of the developers and urban planners as possible opposite approaches would be best examined through a case study design. Due to this evolving environment and animated presence, the case study design is considered most practical in the field of social science investigations. The underlying conditional analysis of Century City described in the preceding paragraphs concurs

with the criteria by Yin (2009) and Bhattacharjee (2012) as to why the case study design with a qualitative approach is most suited for this research and is further summarised as follows:

1. The study is exploratory, building on existing theory constructs by asking why and how of real life experiences within the context of the mixed-use megaproject phenomenon.
2. The presence of a unit of analysis to expand on the theory which could produce results relevant to future study and practice, i.e. generalizable and replicable.
3. The methods and techniques relevant to case study design (described in the research strategy of this chapter) used to collect and analyse data would produce construct validity and reliability, can be corroborated and “is worthy of further analysis” (Yin, 2009; p124).

The research goal and purpose further informed me to determine the steps in my research strategy, through identifying key research objectives. These objectives have been outlined in Chapter one of my dissertation.

Conceptual Research Methodology Framework – Fig. 1



3.3 Research strategy

This strategy necessitates one to identify “personal values, assumptions and biases at the outset of the study, and the strategy includes making explicit other implications of the hypotheses for other available data and reporting how these fit. It also includes seeking out rival explanations of the focal evidence and examining their plausibility” (Yin, 2009; pvii), whereby the credibility of all data collected should be tested. The objective of the research is to explore, describe and interpret the study.

3.3.1 Sampling

There are two types of sampling techniques (probability and non-probability) comprising various sampling types or strategies (simple random, systematic, convenient, purposeful, theoretical, etc.) I apply the purposive sampling strategy, which is considered to be a non-probability sampling technique, since the sampling participants were identified by the researcher as to how relevant they were to the case (Creswell, 2003). Non-probability sampling technique applicable to small size samples and biases may be difficult to avoid.

In line with the research questions, understanding the context within which Century City was conceptualised is important in understanding the corresponding spatial impacts. The strategy in selecting the four participants of my case had to, therefore, be closely related or knowledgeable of the case or unit of analysis; namely, Century City (Bhattachjee, 2012). Because the research questions centre on spatial transformation in the ambit of transformation through planning and political interventions, the participant samples were selected accordingly. I endeavoured to interview people that would provide insight from various spectrums of the case, by considering the inception, motivation and approval of Century City; the period during the development and the political influences. Although the study produced factual evidence, participants did provide me with a range of perspectives of the same case. The perspectives due to the variety of conditions, period and perspectives at which the samples were related to the Century City development allowed me to analyse data bearing in mind the validity and reliability principles of conducting research and analysing the data. This technique further allows for insight into a variety of positions

and perspectives enabling one to understand, analyse and frame the phenomenon in relation to the theory engaged in the literature review chapter (Robinson, 2016).

3.3.2 Data sources and data collection

Continuing from the reasoning as to the case study method, Yin (2009; p2) echo's that the "essential tactic is to use multiple sources of evidence, which need to converge in a triangular fashion". The dissertation follows this method in depicting the "how and why" enquiry with the data collected from key stakeholders, depicted in figure 2.

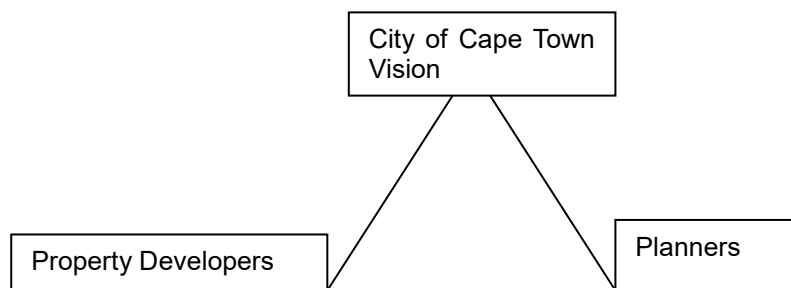


Fig. 2 – Key stakeholders

He emphasises the importance of collecting, presenting and analysing data fairly. Data sources in this case study design, includes secondary and primary sources of documents, artefacts, direct observations and interviews. Due to my study being that of a current phenomenon, I utilised interviews, newspaper articles, policy framework documents and direct observation data-collection methods. This allowed me to review diverse primary and secondary sources.

Interviews with the producers and actors in the construction of Century City may "raise a number of practical challenges" (Yin, 2009; p13). Yin (2009) further suggests going beyond the boundary of the actual participants, where visual exploration should be conducted, namely observation.

Yin (2009) explains that although individual citizens may be interviewed, the findings should preferably be a representation of the organisation, association or institution. Interviews were conducted with the development partner during the inception of

Century City, the consultant to the drafting of the Metropolitan Spatial Plan of 1996 and two City planners. One planner was part of the team of the Blaauwberg Municipality personnel engaged when the developer motivated and applied for approval to develop Century City. The second local government planner was employed in the same district in the 2000s, when the separate municipalities amalgamated under one administration, then known as the Unicity (fig. 4) which is currently the City of Cape Town. I requested permission to record interviews to ensure accuracy when transferred or quoted in my study. The tone and environment may influence interpretation; hence it was necessary to repeat one's understanding of what was said back to the person being interviewed. Interviews required to be systematically arranged and categorised.

Data collection and findings for this qualitative case study, elaborates and comprises set criteria informed mostly by Yin (2009). The interviews formed the most important part of data collection. It presented the ability to analyse the congruency of theory to the context of the study. Predetermined questions were formulated in line with that context, ensuring the boundaries within the study were maintained. However, the questions also required to be open-ended, allowing the respondents the opportunity to be comfortable enough and provide both personal and verifiable objective responses (Yin, 2009). This proved challenging at times, since the respondents would often transcend the boundaries of the study. While the interviews focused on the objectives and visions of the private developer and local government, both impacted and contributed to city planning and the communities they serve.

The interview respondents all requested anonymity, and are referred to as R1 (or R1-Developer) for the developer, the two Town and Regional Planners as R2 (or R2-PlannerM) and R3 (or R3-PlannerF) and the economist planning consultant as R4 (or R4-PDev.Economist). R2 was part of the panel representing the municipality at the time of the inception of Century City, the approval of plans and negotiations with the developer. The second planner, R3, is a district planner at the City of Cape Town in the mid-2000s during development, the construction stages of the various sub-sites. The fourth respondent, R4 is a private economist planner consultant. R4, provided

private consultancy services to National and Local Governments' Urban Development Framework.

Documentation used as part of data collected, comprised newspaper articles, policy and administrative documents, reports and frameworks and other publications directly related to the development. Yin (2009) cautions however, that “documents must be carefully used and not be accepted as literal recordings of events that have taken place” (Yin, 2009, p103) and that articles often present prejudice to the directed audience. Documentation data expounds on the interviews and observations thereby “corroborate and augment evidence” and “provide specific detail” (Yin, 2009; p103). I further reviewed community comments contributed via social media and NGO and civic organisation websites. The documentation was those of government policies, frameworks, newspaper articles, Century City website documents, etc. These were utilised in the rest of the chapters and presented in the findings and analysis chapters.

Observations converged the various transport and pedestrian movements and flow between the precinct and the rest of the city to assess the accessibility of Century City. Observations were conducted during week days and weekends, both on and off peak traffic times. Patterns and behaviours were studied and recorded in the form of notes and photographs. These observations are personal and subjective and do not necessarily present actual views and sentiments of the participants and events pertaining to the study.

3.3.3 Data analysis and interpretation

As described in the introduction, my case study follows a qualitative research approach, which allows one to understand human experiences by exploration, describing and interpreting research. The data collected from the interviews and reports were subjected to “discourse analysis” by interpreting the findings to answer the research questions. Further to this, analysis by means of the triangulation research technique was applied. The primary (interviews and observation) and secondary data (documentation) collected were considered against each other to establish the validity and reliability in analysing the findings.

Discourse analysis is a technique of analysing all types of communication. Statements are derived from assumptions and knowledge, challenging or reinforcing and thereby contributing to the flow of knowledge over time. This approach is often used in analysing various political communications, whether verbal, visual or documents (Schneider, 2013). This type of analysis takes into account the political, social and economic context of what is communicated as well as the time and environment in which the communication takes place, as well as belief systems and professional discipline amongst others (Grant et Al. 2005). According to Nielson and Norreklit (2009), discourse analysis has three levels, firstly the way in which the communication uses language, such as grammar, words, etc.; secondly the external environment influences of the speech and content; and thirdly, “the wider social practice” (Nielson and Norreklit, 2009; p205), namely the current spatial and megaproject reality of which the communicated content is part of. In using discourse analysis, I was able not to only look for similar results of the same issue as is with triangulation; instead I framed the respondents’ answers and discussions that developed from the structured questions which further allowed me to add semi-structured questions. To use an example, the Municipal Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) and other convictions at the times the respondents were involved with Century City, influenced their view and ultimately may have influenced outcomes. The same would apply to the current setting within which the respondents and the researcher find themselves.

The triangulation strategy was further applied to strengthen the credibility of the interpretation of the data through discourse analysis. I applied the pattern matching technique to identify themes in relation to my research questions between the transcripts of the respondents, the newspaper articles and documents as well as direct observations. I then categorised the themes, e.g. transport, nodal development, accessibility, opportunities, etc. I then triangulated the results seeking out similarities. Bhattacharjee (2012) notes that triangulation also provides the researcher the opportunity to view the data from various angles. This became profoundly evident as I clustered the responses. I did not use electronic format, but instead transferred each

postulated response on cards and then arranged these as described above. I then coloured each category, which I compared and grouped with the documents and observation data.

The findings and analysis chapters further expand and analyses the collection criteria and elaborates on the evidence with tangible material of investigation.

3.4 Reliability and Validity

As is recommended in most research guides, Yin (2009) describes four testing methods to ensure credible, dependable, transferable and conformity in research namely, construct validity, internal validity, external validity and reliability.

Reliability is measuring the consistency of the results by the researcher. Bhattacharjee (2012) clarifies this by noting that measuring reliability does not measure the accuracy of the result. Barcik (2016) concurs that reliability manifests itself when the techniques applied in collecting data and the process in analysing the data, the researcher reproduces consistent findings. When the same study is repeated another time or replicated by another researcher using similar methodology, the finding results would be dependable.

Including a degree of quantitative data in a qualitative approach increases reliability (Bhattacharjee (2012). Therefore, I have included statistical analysis and reports in my collection of data. For example, to ensure reliability of the interviews regarding the benefit of Century City in terms of quality of life for the citizens of Cape Town. I presented my research topic and research questions and the City's vision, namely spatial transformation with regard to inclusivity and integration to all the candidates. In this way I endeavoured to ensure reliability by avoiding ambiguity in my questioning.

Validity occurs when the techniques or instruments applied ensure that one is actually measuring what one sets out to measure, i.e. "the extent to which a measure adequately represents the underlying construct that it is supposed to measure"

(Bhattacharjee, 2012; p58). Validity in quantitative research is easier to attain and more straightforward, while validity in qualitative research is much more intricate since it is often abstract and cannot be measured exactly with an instrument; for example, scale, numerical calculations, statistics, etc. Therefore, measuring validity in qualitative research requires the researcher to take cognisance of the techniques and processes in measuring or rather analysing and interpreting the data and findings. Bhattacharjee (2012) emphasises the importance of integrating both theoretical and empirical approaches to ensure validity. I therefore initiated my research goal with theory, by reviewing the literature and concept or rationale of the Century City development, studying the associated theory of the megaproject phenomenon, the background and the various contexts. My next step was to use more than one method of data collection; namely, interviews with key participants that had direct knowledge of both the rationale of the development, understood global planning principles with regard to urban spatial development and the mandatory spatial and urban growth direction of the municipality of which Century City is part of. Because I have only interviewed four key participants, I also made direct observations and reviewed government reports and articles. To improve the validity further, I included some published statistical data to support or challenge and interpret the other data collection methods and findings.

Subjectivity is human nature and as a researcher, I have therefore tried my best to ensure that I selected and followed meticulously the various methods, strategies, techniques and processes recommended for social science research reliability and validity. For example, I categorised the themes and triangulated it to the spatial development framework, reports and newspaper articles related to answer the research questions, thereby strengthening both reliability and validity.

The three most common validity criteria (according to Yin, 2009) within my study are as follows:

1. Construct Validity – I used multiple sources during data collection and continuously referring back and reminding myself to remain focused on the research goal, purpose and questions. Measuring spatial transformation

through the lens of the Century City megaproject.

2. Internal Validity – In my analysis and interpretation chapter, I demonstrated that Century City (independent variable) has a causal relation to urban spatial outcomes (dependant variable).
3. External Validity – When I examined the theory and collected my data regarding urban megaprojects and spatial influences, I verify how my research is generalizable and applicable within an urban setting in other countries or locations as well.

3.5 Limitations

Case study research is not without challenges and limitations. Limitations experienced during my study were as follows:

- Data collection and access to appointments impacted on my schedule.
- Analyses may reflect one's personal bias or prejudice, not being an expert researcher.
- Objectivity in qualitative research is more difficult to maintain.
- Proof of data in the dissertation is compromised when subjects request confidentiality by remaining anonymous; however, they have agreed that I may provide my supervisor with the interview transcripts.
- Time limit and personal circumstances impacted on the ability to include more diagrams, tables or charts to expand on the narrative.
- It is not possible to generalise from a single case study about all other occurrences of the same phenomenon, as the case study is a sample of one. However, it is possible to use a case to 'speak back' to theory and concepts and to add to these or critique them.

3.6 Ethical Considerations

Qualitative research case study's primary sources are by means of interviews. The synopsis of the study may appear not to infringe on confidentiality and at times be neglected. It involves people, "human subjects", and has to be treated in terms of a code of conduct. In collecting evidence, especially by means of interviews, I ensured to outline and institute confidentiality in order to maintain the highest ethical standard.

As a City of Cape Town employee, I intend to further follow the guidelines that are required with regard to the research guidelines set out by the organisation.

3.7 Conclusion

While developers may have marketed Century City as a mixed-use development, governing authorities and planners may have a different idea as to what constitutes a mixed-use development for the city. Data may therefore produce a variety of findings; however, one had to maintain objectivity and keep “the eye on the ball”; namely, the research statement, goal, purpose and questions. Yin (2009), therefore reminds, as do many other social scientists, that qualitative case studies produce generalizable findings and are therefore more like the “topic of a new experiment” (Yin, 2009; p38) instead of an experiment itself. By having followed the case study design and qualitative approach with the methodology techniques selected, I was able to explore and understand the “why” and “how” better and: in turn, I aspire to contribute to the knowledge and discussion of the megaproject phenomenon through my research. What was most profound in following the appropriate research methodologies and techniques, is that I increasingly was able to detach my personal biases, and for the first time I began to understand what is meant by scientific research and believed that the researcher in me had started to emerge.

CHAPTER 4: CONTEXT / BACKGROUND

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe and contextualise the circumstances within which Century City was initiated and it briefly reviews the political setting at the time. This chapter will further comment on the key role players, describe their rationale, motivation and the eventual launching of this mixed-use commercial urban megaproject. The chapter goes on to provide an overview of Century City's development from inception to the current situation.

4.2 Context

Policies such as the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and Growth and Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) were amongst the first policies to guide municipalities to grow cities towards "human-centred" (Binza, 2004; p81) development in 1994 (Binza, 2004; Watson, 2002; Williams, 2000). In 1996 the new constitution was inaugurated for a democratic South Africa. The RDP White Paper, Municipal Systems Act, 2000 and Service Partnership Policy, 2000 were informed by the constitution. All these were intended as tools and procedural guides to ensure municipalities collaborated with public sectors, NGOs, residents, CBOs and private sectors in taking the municipalities forward to integrate economic opportunities, racial and spatial segregation and fragmentation (Binza, 2004, Watson, 2002; Turok, 2001). The Cape Town municipal area was divided into six separate municipalities (fig. 3), with Century City (CC) positioned within the Blaauwberg Municipality (fig. 5). Local governments were tasked by the National Government's vision and strategy to grow the economy of their cities, and to interact with global economies at a macro-level (DBSA, 2000). These municipalities relied, to a large extent, on revenue from rates and municipal services, as budgets provided by National Government were inadequate. Cape Town municipalities were pressured with a greater responsibility of producing a world class city by improving transport, tourism, the airport and sea port and, importantly, improving the citizens' social-economic and services inequalities. This, while the city's population was growing from the large migration from rural areas and other cities. In this competitive environment of municipalities, a lucrative environment for investment and local private-sector collaborations was cultivated

(Donaldson, 2001; Lemanski, 2007). Strategies were formulated by incorporating and encouraging private sector funding partnerships to contribute to economic development and address local services and housing shortages (Bond, 2003). This environment opened the door for lucrative possibilities with private sector developers and investors to “assist” with the economic growth. The 1996 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) was a planning strategy document that provided guidelines as to how and where development in the Cape Metropolitan area was to take place to ensure economic growth, provide urban integrated spaces and “control” sprawl. Nodal developments along mixed-use and public transport corridors were considered the primary means to integrate the city (MSDF, 1996). The 1996 MSDF promoted the location of new private sector development in the least developed part of Cape Town i.e. in what was called the Philippi node on the Cape Flats and south of the airport. The proposed location of Century City therefore went directly against the MSDF strategy as it was located on the N1 freeway (and not on a corridor) and in a previously ‘white’ and highly developed part of the metropolitan area (MSDF Technical Report, 1996; MCA Africa Report, 2006).

The Metropolitan Council, at the time, disregarded the 1996 MSDF and was able to exploit an opportunity to “maintain racial segregation”, (Marks & Bezzoli, 2001, p32) under the guise of urban development. The council and council planners had little experience with megaprojects and considered developers as the experts (Lemanski, 2007; Marks & Bezzoli, 2001) in planning. It was in this setting in the fledgling history of the new democracy, that Century City started as a mixed-use commercial megaproject development.

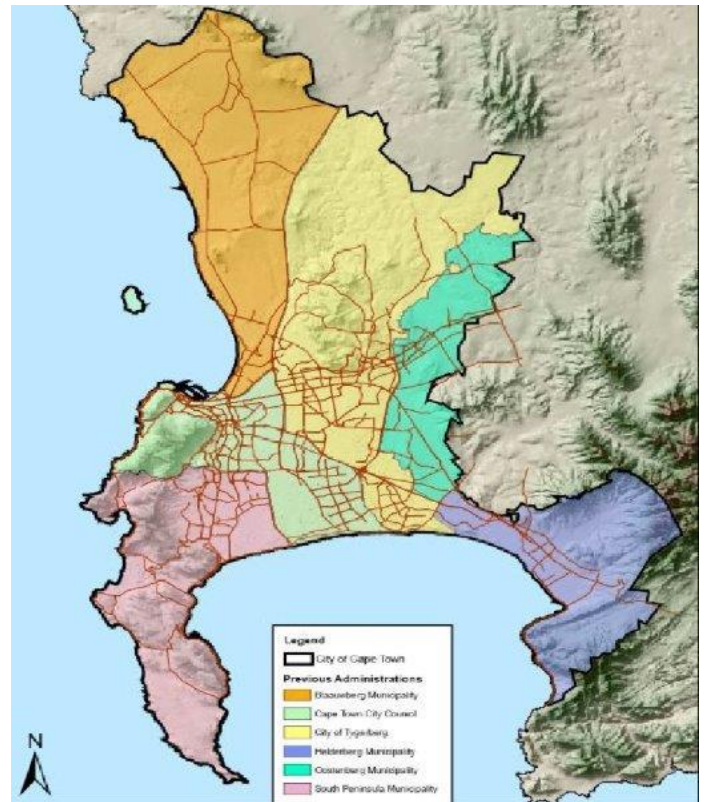
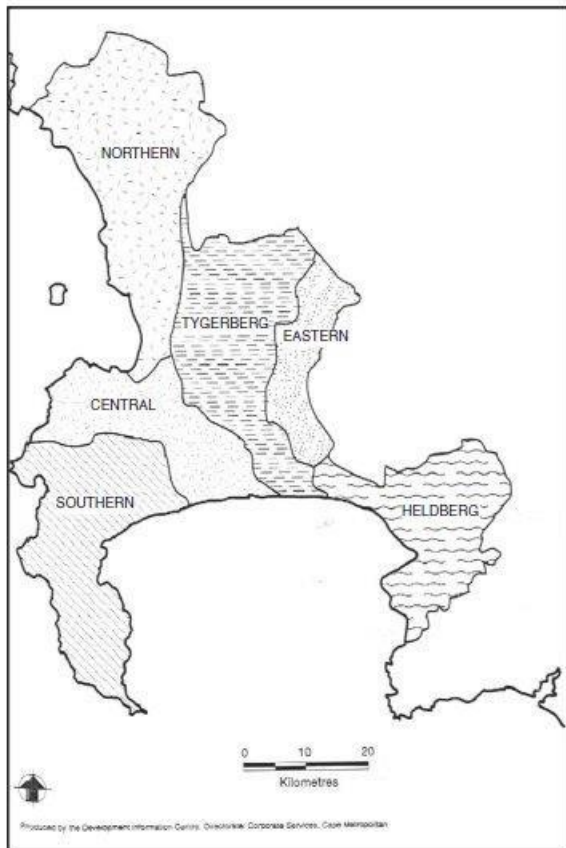
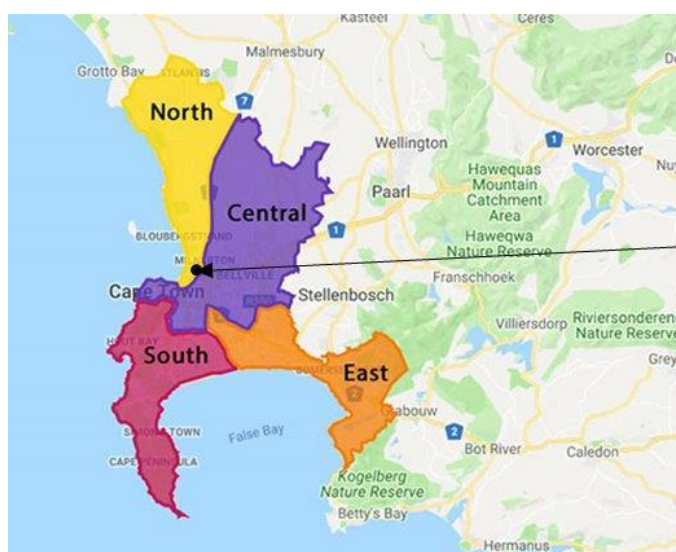


Fig. 3 (left) 1996 Municipal Boundaries (Watson, 2002; p82) sourced from Cameron 1999), Fig. 4 (right) which became the Unicity in Dec. 2000

<https://www.researchgate.net/publication/265729473>



Century City

Current City of Cape Town
municipality

Fig. 5 <https://www.capetowninvasives.org.za>

4.3 Locality

The Century City development is a mixed-use commercial development built and located on a wetlands 10km north east from the Cape Town Central Business District (CBD). It is developed on the edge of the N1 freeway which intersects the N7 and a railway line to the south east next to the N1, and Sable Road to the south. The west of the site is linked by the Ratanga Road and Bosmansdam Road to the north (fig. 6).



Fig. 6 Century City location - not to scale

<https://www.google.com/maps/place/Century+City,+Cape+Town,+7441/@-33.8974347,18.4449>

4.4 Initiating Century City

The site where Century City is currently located was owned by Ilco Homes, and zoned for residential use. The company has started developing entry and middle income level housing north of the site known as Summer Greens. The company was in financial difficulty and indebted to the BOE banking group, headed by Christo Wiese, who instructed transfer and selling the 250ha site over to a company elected by the bank (Marks and Bezzoli, 2001). The site was scooped up by a Cape Town property development company, Monex Developers in 1996. Martin Wragge, responsible for the development of the Tyger Valley shopping centre, headed the company at the time. He immediately recognised the “potential” of the site and proceeded to motivate the rezoning of the site from residential to mixed land use (Finweek, 2007). According to the Century City website, the development of Ratanga Junction theme park and Canal Walk shopping centre was motivated and promoted as paramount to provide the revenue for the extensive infrastructure required to develop the site.

The Ratanga Junction theme park opened in 1998. The failure of Ratanga Junction to perform as expected (it made a R66m profit), led Standard Bank to reduce their R621m loan to Canal Walk shopping centre to R500m in 1999, whereby the centre had to reduce the budget of the construction to R121m (eProperty News, 2007). Martin Wragge noted in an interview with Finweek (2007), that construction continued with the assistance of Invicta Holding and the Canal Walk shopping centre opened in 2000. Canal Walk was the largest shopping centre in the Southern Hemisphere and Africa at the time (Finweek, 2007). However, between 1999 and 2002, investors lost interest in Century City, since millions were lost with Ratanga Junction. This was the start of Monex’s demise and credibility. The Canal Walk mall was believed to be an “ill-fated” (Finweek, Aug. 2007, p13) shopping mall, which encouraged Nedbank to sell to Hyprop Investment, managed by Madison in 2003 for less than half the value four years later (Finweek, Aug. 2007). The Rabie Group developers acquired the rest of Century City in 2004 and produced a Century City Urban Development Framework (CCUDF) in 2005, which was to shape the direction and regulations for future development of the site (CC website). This is further summarised in fig. 7.

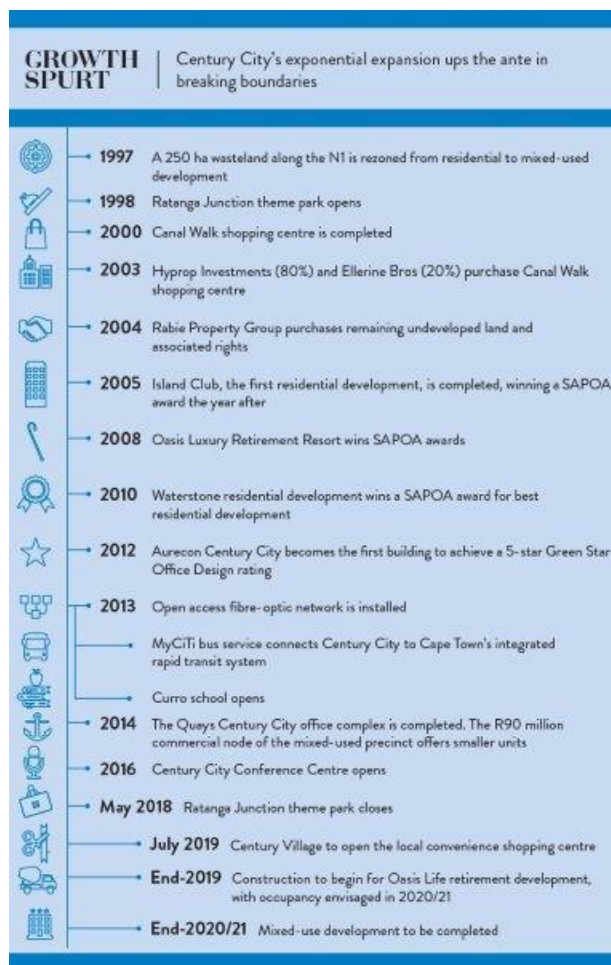


Fig. 7 Summary of the development over years (online Earthworks Magazine, issue 46, April-June 2019, p28)

4.5 Rezoning of Century City

Martin Wragge highlighted that the rezoning of the site to mixed land use, was revolutionary and is what was needed at the time to ensure that the construction of the mall and theme park could be developed first. (Finweek, Aug. 2007,). The Blaauwberg Municipality was mostly in control by the National Party, public participation was absent, except for the statutory notification of 21-day appeal period, (Noseweek 27, 1999) and rezoning was passed within three weeks (Approval Appendices, 1999).

The Milnerton Ratepayers' Association (MRA) strongly objected to the original planned location and the noise that would be produced from the Ratanga Junction

theme park. Monex was forced to move the construction next to the Ysterplaat Airfield base to the south of the site. Wragge expressed in the same interview with Finweek that ‘he should never have given in to the ratepayers’ demands and that the relocation of the theme park contributed to Monex’s financial crisis (Finweek, Aug. 2007, p14). Further public objection and challenges regarding the construction and CCUDF, and implementation, is not documented or revealed in documents and literature reviewed and was identified as a pertinent question in collecting data for the case study.

Johnny Rabie, founder of the Rabie Property Group developers, noted that it was fortunate that he had a positive public / private relationship, which enabled him to succeed as he did at the time (Business News, 2004). John Chapman, current director of Rabie Property Group, noted in an interview with a leading talk radio station, that the direction and philosophy of urban development toward mixed-use urbanism was one of the reasons for the success of Century City as an enclosed secure development (Cape Talk, Aug. 2017).

4.6 Municipal planning approval

Zoning was approved on 9 December 1997 by the Blaauwberg Municipality upon the presentation of the site development plan (fig. 8 and 9) in the form of a Package of Plans approach process. This approach was directed at establishing a large and mixed-use development framework with the objective of urban integration (Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 7396, 29 May 2015). Steenkamp and Winkler (2014), describes the package of plans approach as having been established 20 years ago specifically for the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&AW) as an approach “by the City of Cape Town, designed to serve and reconcile the key interests of each of the public and private sectors” (Van Zyl, 2013, p12 quotes de Tolly). This process has been ongoing from inception through the development of the site in packages. It has enabled development plan submission and approval as it takes place, allowing for adjustments “over time to meet changing market demand” (Van Zyl, 2013, p12). Steenkamp and Winkler (2014) elaborate further, in that the City of Cape Town exercises the approach to control, direct and administer land use applications for large developments it thereby “facilitates a link between high level city principles and strategies of the CTSDF of 2012, with site level designs and land use decision-

making” (Steenkamp and Winkler, 2014, p336). This approach is rationalised and postulated in an Urban Development Framework presented and submitted to local government, by the developer. The Package of Plans approach as a tool, was therefore key in the approval of the Century City Urban Design Framework (CCUDF) and subsequent development.

A general site development plan submitted in April 1996, to the Department of Housing and Government and Planning (DHGP) was approved on 24 July 1996 by the premier, Provincial Administration Western Cape (PAWC). The conditions for the approval detailed environmental assessment, preservation, establishing a committee and transport-related conditions. Further subdivision was approved on 14 August 1996, after which approvals were granted in a “phased manner” (Approval, p4), based on the Package of Plan approach and condition and standard building regulations conditions that prevailed at the time. Remainder of the site rezoning and land use approvals from residential to mixed-use continued for the entire site in 1997 and 1999 with conditions referred to as per the Land Use Planning Ordinance, 1985 (Ordinance 15 of 1985). Plans continued to be submitted to the council based on the package of plans approach and 1996 to 1999 approvals. Revised submissions are required for land use change, as occurred with Ratanga Junction theme park in 2017. (Appendices of part of approvals attached to dissertation).

4.7 The Century City Urban Development Framework (CCUDF)

As motivation for prospective investors, the CCUDF ensures that land and properties would be for prime investment market and would be the all-encompassing development (CCUDF, 2005). It further guarantees swift building approval as long as property owners and investors adhere to the CCUDF. Marks and Bezzoli remark that property developers have “their own experts to navigate and influence” (2001, p32) the mandatory administrations. Stringent regulations for developers or property owners within the precinct require them to submit development plans with Century City Property Owners’ Association (CCPOA), which in turn submits it to the Century City Design Review Committee (CCDRC) for approval before submission to the council (CCUDF, 2005). It is further noted to developers within Century City that “there is effectively a basket of rights that can be utilised” (CCUDF, 2005, p57). Before acquiring a property within Century City, prospective developers are required, through a legal contract document, to comply with these regulations to ensure overall design of “public” space, landscape, architectural aesthetics, addressing boundary edges, security, etc. (CCUDF, p60). This, the document suggests, is to create a “sense of place for the enjoyment of the public, residents and office workers” (CCUDF, p2).

4.8 Century City profile

The 2011 Statistics South Africa indicates the demographic and economic profile of Century City, reflects people living in the census boundary Fig 10 shows that the majority of residents are white. Fig 11 shows that the majority of the population here are employed. Fig 12 shows that over 50% of those living in Century City earned relatively high incomes of between R25 601 and R102 400 a month. See also Appendix 4 – 2014 & 2016 CT economy at a glance. The current statistics were not available. The Century City property trend profile (houses and apartments) since 2010 to 2018 indicate the average house and flat prices to be R3.3m and R2.2m on average respectively. See Appendix 5.

Demographic Profile – 2011 Census

Century City Population	Male		Female		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
Black African	320	7.6%	354	8.4%	674	15.9%
Coloured	221	5.2%	208	4.9%	429	10.1%
Asian	406	9.6%	436	10.3%	842	19.9%
White	1 003	23.7%	1 101	26.0%	2 104	49.6%
Other	88	2.1%	101	2.4%	189	4.5%
Total	2 038	48.1%	2 200	51.9%	4 238	100.0%

Fig. 10

Economic Profile – 2011 Census

Century City Labour Force Indicators	Black African	Coloured	Asian	White	Other	Total
Population aged 15 to 64 years	498	348	669	1 560	147	3 222
Labour Force	351	303	465	1 281	90	2 490
Employed	342	300	453	1 254	84	2 433
Unemployed	9	3	12	27	6	57
Not Economically Active	147	45	204	279	57	732
Discouraged Work-seekers	6	0	3	3	0	12
Other not economically active	141	45	201	276	57	720
Rates %						
Unemployment rate	2.56%	0.99%	2.58%	2.11%	6.67%	2.29%
Labour absorption rate	68.67%	86.21%	67.71%	80.38%	57.14%	75.51%
Labour Force participation rate	70.48%	87.07%	69.51%	82.12%	61.22%	77.28%

Fig. 11

Note: Based on available data as supplied by Statistics South Africa, the people categorised as living in collective living quarters are included in the "Other not economically active" category.

Century City Monthly Household Income	Black African		Coloured		Asian		White		Other		Total	
	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%	Num	%
No income	21	7.5%	12	5.6%	27	8.2%	90	8.2%	9	16.7%	159	8.0%
R 1 - R 1 600	9	3.2%	0	0.0%	3	0.9%	15	1.4%	3	5.6%	30	1.5%
R 1 601 - R 3 200	3	1.1%	3	1.4%	3	0.9%	18	1.6%	3	5.6%	30	1.5%
R 3 201 - R 6 400	6	2.2%	9	4.2%	15	4.5%	42	3.8%	3	5.6%	75	3.8%
R 6 401 - R 12 800	21	7.5%	12	5.6%	18	5.5%	132	12.0%	9	16.7%	192	9.7%
R 12 801 - R 25 600	42	15.1%	54	25.0%	63	19.1%	252	22.9%	12	22.2%	423	21.4%
R 25 601 - R 51 200	96	34.4%	69	31.9%	105	31.8%	312	28.3%	6	11.1%	588	29.7%
R 51 201 - R 102 400	57	20.4%	42	19.4%	66	20.0%	174	15.8%	6	11.1%	345	17.4%
R 102 401 or more	24	8.6%	15	6.9%	30	9.1%	66	6.0%	3	5.6%	138	7.0%
Unspecified	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Total	279	100.0%	216	100.0%	330	100.0%	1 101	100.0%	54	100.0%	1 980	100.0%

Fig. 12

4.9 Century City 20 years later

Currently Century City has become a lucrative investment hub. The precinct has high density private, enclosed housing and businesses. It has seen continued consistent development over the years and has embraced its fit in the City. The 250-hectare site is almost fully developed with 3500 residential units, over 500 businesses, hotels, private schools and health care and entertainment, amongst other services. (Business News, 2017). According to the Century City website, the precinct also boasts high performance information technology network systems. A survey in 2014, indicated that public transport was somewhat satisfactory for the majority of users. (ISSUU, 2015).

The rights for development obtained in 2004, allowed 1.25 million m² of development of which 250 000m² is currently in the process of development. (Business News, 2017). Century City has obtained many prestigious building designs and green star rating awards. However, Century City has not received any awards for urban design in the context of city and community development as far as I am aware.

In various ways the project failed to meet the standards of the MSDF and the values contained in its own urban design framework. It did not locate in the part of Cape Town designated by the MSDF for new private-sector development or on a public-transport corridor. It was designed for car-oriented access (fig. 13 and 14) and far away from most poor residential areas. Internally it is separated from neighbouring Summer Greens (fig. 13 and 18) by a high wall and the public space is sterile and little used. The public transport stop which serves the development is remote (fig. 16 to 18) and there is poor and unsafe pedestrian access (fig. 15) to the main functions of the project. Uses are mixed but not integrated meaning there is little connection between commercial uses and the public space. (own site visit, observations, 05/12/2017 and the period between January to May 2018).



Fig. 13 Boundary wall - Web view of Century City residential to the right with electric fenced boundary walls and Sanddrift neighbouring housing to the left.

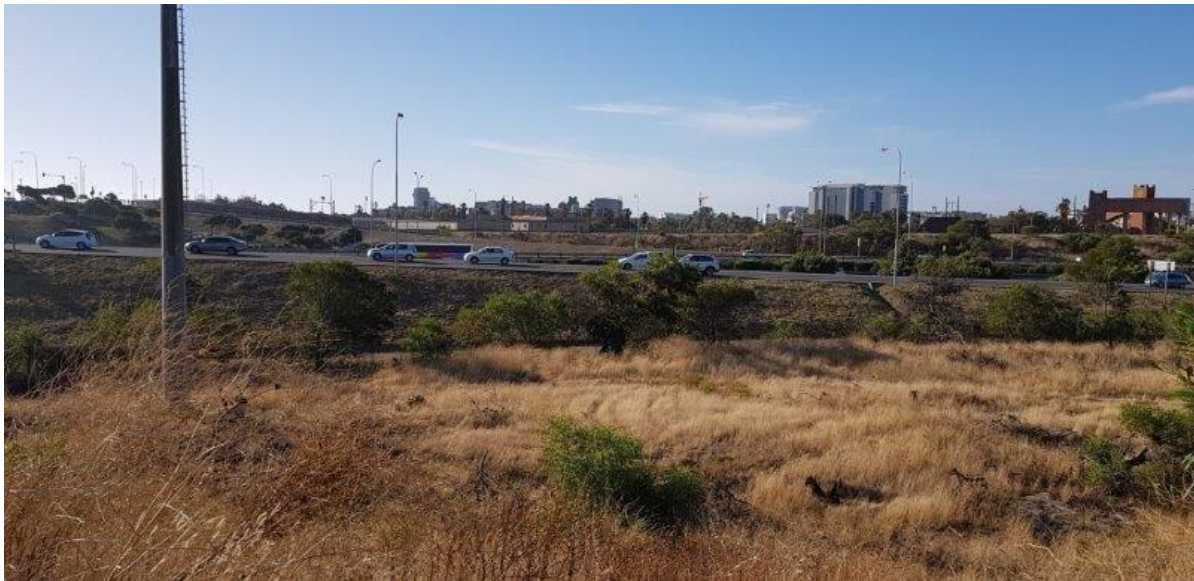


Fig. 14 Field visit - View of Century City from the Century City train station



Fig. 15 Field Visit – Passengers walking from Century City to the train station



Fig. 16 Field Visit – Taxi and bus passengers walking from Century City to taxi and bus public transport interchange



Fig. 17 Field visit – Century City public transport interchange



Fig. 18 (online Google maps)

Taxi Rank, MyCity and Century City Train station interchanges are located on the edge of the development.

4.10 Conclusion

Century City has many similarities with case studies on developer-driven urban mega-projects in other parts of the world (chapter 2). In keeping with these case studies as well, Century City has contributed to the spatial fragmentation and spatial inequality of Cape Town rather than promoting the values of the 1996 Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework for a just and equitable post-apartheid city. It was developed on a freeway route rather than on a mixed-use public transport corridor, contrary to the 1996. It did not integrate surrounding lower economic suburbs, the development was based on vehicular use instead of public transport and pedestrian access and both economic and residential accommodation is aimed at the high-end economic market. The Century City status quo continues to be that of a market driven, well managed, secure and enclosed development, which are key indicators of the development in the CCUDF. In the current climate of unemployment, skills shortages,

the need to promote small entrepreneurs, housing shortages, transport challenges, etc., the CCUDF promotes urban values within the boundary of Century City. The development incorporates principles such as densification, smart technology, alternative water sources, green building design and natural species and environment preservation.

The local municipality did not specify conditions with regards to city-wide, socio-spatial development and the goal of achieving an integrated and equitable city. The MSDF and municipal vision of spatial transformation was also not mentioned in any of the approvals. When Century City was initiated in 1996, (i.e. transition to democracy and new spatial policies) it presented a textbook opportunity for the City, their planners and developers to incorporate urban and planning principles such as public / civil-private engagement, place-making, overlapping opportunities and finding solutions to both political and social needs.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results in relation to the research questions. The questions, primarily addressed is, firstly, the contribution of Century City to the City of Cape Town's spatial transformation vision; and secondly, the justification by both the applicant and the municipality for the development. The third research question in respect of the lessons learnt from the study and how can they contribute to future planning in Cape Town, will be addressed in the conclusion, chapter 8 of this dissertation.

The first two research questions were categorised in themes that emerged from the interviews. Section 5.2 examines the impact on spatial transformation and section 5.3 examines how different role-players justified the development of Century City. These were categorised in themes that emerged from the interviews, namely infrastructure and design, environmental sustainability, public transport, public participation and economic growth opportunities under 5.2; and the inception of Century City, municipal approvals and business improvement and development opportunities und 5.3.

Section 5.4 collates the fieldwork under observations and 5.5 examines documents and newspaper articles, endeavouring to answer the research questions. In addition, the themes that emerged from the interviews were further explored through these data resources.

As indicated in the research methodology chapter, I have cited the respondents as R1, R2, R3 and R4, where the citation occurs within the sentence, and furthermore cited in brackets where cited at the end of the sentence, viz. (R1-Developer; R2-PlannerM; R3-PlannerF and R4-PDevEconomist). This is done to remind the reader of each respondents' professional background.

5.2 The contribution of Century City to the City's vision of spatial transformation.

5.2.1 Infrastructure and design

The Century City site required extensive site preparation, civil works and enormous infrastructure implementation before it could start building (R1-Developer). This was not possible for the City to do at the time (R2-PlannerM). The 35km of underground electrical cabling laid, sewerage piping beyond the site to Bosmansdam Road, storm water and all services, treated affluent on the site were funded by the private sector (R1-Developer). He emphasised that the City “paid zilts” for infrastructure. R4 expressed that any private development is, to a large degree always co-funded by the public sector. He further explains that, irrespective of the infrastructure on the site having been funded by the developer, local government had to further upgrade and build additional infrastructure as a direct result of the development. This funding could have been directed at the corridor developments, which were a vital component of the MSDF at the time (R4). A development like this presents an opportunity for upgrade of infrastructure that may not have been otherwise upgraded (R3-PlannerF).

The intention was always to connect Century City to the Cape Town CBD (R1-Developer). The development has encouraged upgrades and new developments, albeit mostly for higher end corporate land-users (R3-PlannerF).

R3: Any form of development is, in the end, revenue for the city, irrespective of where it is located, but it is getting that balance of placing development.

The development has been an innovative model of live, work and play (R1-Developer). R4 emphasised these to be principles promoted in cities for hundreds of years. Surprisingly the developer and the economist respondents articulated the accessibility and exclusionary patterns in light of the fact that it is such a large area. “It is a gated community, rather an estate” (R4-PDevEconomist). R1 maintains that the existing boundaries in the form of the freeways, the airbase and railways were not easy to integrate. R1 and R3 stated that the development does not have active

streets.

Century City lacks active streets, they have tried to develop a public interface, but it was not achieved through the design, the design has not worked, it looks nice but it is sterile (R1-Developer).

R1 and R2 explained that the enclosed design enables the developer to control and manage the development, and “are doing very well, up to now” (R3-PlannerF).

R3: where it is not going to cost the city too much in the future to maintain, it's nice to say create a shopping centre, but taking the services there; and that central location that is what?... (pause) ... 25years ago, where now...(pause)... it's actually what the City is saying what we have to do, focus inward, our total philosophy of moving out onto axis of the peripheral to double axis development out north and up the west coast... (pause) ... we have moved our focus inward now.

R4 and R3 explained that there could have been better connection to the areas not separated by existing infrastructure. R2 and R3 believed that the railway will never be able to be connected directly to the site without that walkway across the freeway and the parking areas.

R4: It was not in their (developer's) interest to breach public access across the freeway, and they made very little effort to integrate it with Milnerton, for example.

R4 expressed the concern regarding which facilities the people working in the area use. R3 emphasised that the facilities are open for anyone to use, “for those who can afford it” (R3-PlannerF). R1 and R2 noted that Century City provides access of their services to anyone across the city, arguing that this creates an inclusive environment within the precinct. R3 and R4, notes that integration occurs in pockets within the development and not beyond the physical and abstract boundaries.

R4: It further entrenches exclusivity and reinforces a notion of not having a cross spectrum of people in the area, because in actual fact the facilities are not there.

R4 further emphasised that the characteristics of the design creates an exclusive pattern, entrenched in the security systems and the type of services offered. R3 explains that the developer did not categorise people according to rich or poor, ethnicity, gender, etc., but merely “to build a vision that they believed in very strongly” (R3-PlannerF). He notes that basing the development on social improvement, would have required a completely different strategy.

All respondents agreed that Century City provided “decent densities, which is good” (R4-EconomistP), and an objective of city and urban planning principles. However, residential accommodation is not affordable and not available for those working as non-professionals and in the entry level professional industries, at large (R4-EconomistP). R4 further explains, that while there is contention as to what is affordable, he would describe the affordable market to be any household earning less than R15 000 per month, and Century City did not accommodate this. He described the Ratanga Junction theme park site as probably the last opportunity to provide broader inclusionary opportunities and facilities. This, he noted, is however unlikely considering the interest of profit generated from other higher return land-users, against that of social housing, government amenities and lower rental informal trading.

5.2.2 Environmental sustainability

The planner respondents both noted that they were not environmental “people” (professionals), but were very intrigued about the canals created and how well the reserve fitted in the mixed-use development. R1 described that the Intaka Island bird sanctuary and wetlands made the land more valuable and was the backbone to create a storm water management system.

R3: This was an important component of the site. It used to be a federal wetland, drying out in summer and filling in winter. We created an island here, the Intaka island. We created a system man-made wetlands, with a natural filtration system with 4 cells. The water gets pumped out of the canals and naturally flows along the reef beds and flows back into the canals. We used this to purify the canal water. That was an absolute first.

R4: Water is a major scarce resource, although we spoke about the aquifers in the 1990s already, that (Century City) was on top of a wetlands system that has already been polluted and has no access to it now; it could have been a good source of recharging the aquifer. One could argue that it could have been an open recreational space, people could have gone there, watch the birds, etc. It is there but it has been cut down significantly.

When the respondents were presented with an article from the Century City website, of Joe Slovo Park under privileged children enjoying the Intaka Island, R4 explained it to be corporate marketing strategies employed across the sectors of development.

R3: It is for all the people, it's for all the people that can afford to buy there and it is expensive to buy there. It is a very good investment and people just see how the value climbs, anybody can go there, you don't have to stay there to walk around the nature reserve.

R4: They put that indoor soccer there and they put that parking there, they started to infill it, I wonder if they got environmental approval there. They have infilled the wetlands along the freeway.

R4 further noted it could have easily been transformed as a nature reserve and recreational park for the greater Cape Town residents, but the reserve, as with other services are enclosed and controlled and private (R4-PDevEconomist).

5.2.3 Public Transport

Century City accommodated public transport in the form of mini-bus taxis and buses

within the development. Currently, public transport includes the mini-bus taxis, MyCiti busses and rail transport. R1 emphasised that the developer made provision for a taxi interchange, at a time when the City wanted the taxi industry to be replaced by the MyCiti bus services (R1-Developer). R4 remarked however that the taxi “interchange” is that of an “isolated cell” for drop-off and collection of the lower earning employees and customers.

R3: they have their own little transport system that has been running, the Century City bus that runs and then they got the e-parking as well, there are many nice concepts that can actually work in the CBD as well. They saw the need for the mini-bus and the station as well.

R4: The development has put a demand on public investment, especially transport infrastructure. Only three access points. The traffic congestion there in the morning and afternoon is horrendous.

R3 further noted that the Century City design framework incorporated their own mini-bus taxi interchange, and that the rail transport is the responsibility of National government. He emphasised that the continuous public transport upgrades such as the train station connection and MyCiti services to Century City illustrate the commitment of the developer to provide access to both people living in the same district as well as from areas across the Cape Town metropole.

5.2.4 Public Participation

R1 noted that the only objection they received that affected the development approval was that of the Milnerton Civic Association, whereby they had to relocate the Ratanga junction on the site from where it was originally planned.

R1: We immediately built that boundary wall along the N1 freeway. When the general public became sceptical, we had already stamped our authority on the site.

R4 articulated that public participation of the greater Cape Town population did not

take place. This was not necessary as the development was within the Blaauwberg municipality at the time of inception (R2-PlannerM). R3 noted that the public participation processes were not as regulated as is currently the case.

5.2.5 Economic opportunities

The planners articulated that the development contributed to the economic growth of the city by means of investments and, in their opinion, provided the municipality the ability to expand its rates base, to the benefit of the people living within that municipal boundary (R2-PlannerM). The response by the developer to the question of objectives of the development, was a straightforward answer of “profit”, he paused and then added “to create a better quality of life” (R1-Developer).

R3: That is what it is in the end, I don't think it was a selfish profit; they believed in what they were going to put there because if they don't believe in what they going to put there, the profit is going to go down the drain.

R2: The development cannot claim it to be for the poor, except for job opportunities.

R3: No, there is nothing in my opinion that Century City is focused on the lower income market, although it gave a level of support to the surrounding middle, low to middle income areas, but not low-low.

R4: In economics we talk about economic growth and economic development, it is not the same.

The extent of this type of investment is a benefit that transfers to the city as a whole (R3-PlannerF). R4 articulated that the exclusive pattern of design and target market, ensured that the developer has a greater return on investments and that the profit margin of the development is possibly far greater than other private developments, but further noted that the substantial adverse effects outweighed that of benefit to the majority of people in the city.

R3: It (Century City) was placed close to low income areas, that it can support those low income areas and provide jobs in terms of people to

work etc. And then the transport they provided, the upgrades, they provide a total new train station. So it is relatively accessible for the lower income group of people. Why did Sable Square become a success? Because it's just around the corner of Century City?

R3 described the positive impact Century City has in terms of jobs and that the developer has considered the larger community accessibility by providing public transport. On the contrary, R4 considered that this may not have benefitted the larger community of Cape Town in respect of development.

R4: The question is to what extent did that benefit the majority of the citizens, just jobs during construction. We need to create a balance. Economic growth does not mean that unemployment has been reduced.

The respondents all agreed that it has created a substantial number of jobs and that Century City has now positioned itself as a “comfortable fit” (R2-PlannerM) within the city as a node. See Appendix 6 for business node performance.

5.3 The applicant and municipality’s key justifications of the development

5.3.1 The inception of Century City

The idea of the combination of work, play, shop and entertainment, all in one place, served as a motivation for developers and was perceived as a good integrated, inclusive development by the City planners, not just a shopping mall, such as the example of Tyger Valley shopping centre (R3-PlannerF).

R3: The mixed-use concept, the whole principle of transport oriented design of the City, purely my opinion, not the City’s opinion, it was ahead of its time, but it’s now a comfortable fit in the City.

R2 expressed that, at the time Century City began, the city underwent major restructuring, and the area was governed by the Blaauwberg Municipality and not the current unified governance structure (i.e. the unicity and subsequently the City of

Cape Town in 2000). Each municipality had their own income base by means of rates. The Century City site as we now know it, was part of the Milnerton area and was within the district of the municipality. He added that Milnerton was “blessed” with many industrial activities, but was in continuous competition between various other “local authorities” at the time.

R1: We met with the City officials at the time, well, they said “no”, simply because it was not in their plan.

R2: (As a municipality), I was in competition with Cape Town, Goodwood, Bellville, anyone. I tried to attract development into my area.

R3: There has actually been a big split in the planning fraternity between planners; we had a lot of debates about it, and does that thing (Century City) serve a purpose, the distance that it is from the CBD (Cape Town Central Business District), it is too near for some people to the CBD, so at the inception there was definitely two schools of thought.

R4: It (Century City) has limited investment elsewhere in the city. That area as an investment area is far away from where the majority of the people live.

The above extractions of the interviews reveal the different perspectives of the inception of Century City. R2 highlighted that local government, at the time, was serving that particular district community and not the larger Cape Town. He noted that each planner’s mandate and loyalties were committed to the particular municipality they were employed at.

The Blaauwberg municipality was initially hesitant about the Century City development application; however, once they realised the potential revenue and development contribution gains that could be negotiated as part of the land use approval process, the application was expedited for approval (R1-Developer). While R2 supported this statement, he noted that for him the approval was not guided by revenue alone.

R2: I wasn't worried about the price but rather the form and actually the appropriateness of the development. We had their plans approved for them. We could drive outcomes and so we got fairly quick approvals. We had a very clear position as to what we were trying to achieve. For us it was all about getting that mixture.

The developers were prepared to take their investments overseas if the municipality could not recognise this opportunity (R1-Developer). R4 argued that an investment of that enormity, should have had greater public participation of the greater Cape Town, and not only the immediate surrounding areas, which he expressed as having been very limited.

5.3.2 Municipal approvals

There was agreement with all respondents that the Package of Plans approach of motivating approvals allowed the developer leverage in the form of flexibility of land and bulk release, which they could adapt to the changing market. The respondents vary in opinion as to the success and benefit of the approach in the city, its objectives and to the collective urban community. R3 disclosed that this approach was often misunderstood. There were evident differences of interpretation, being one of the reasons for the “split in the planning fraternity” (R3-PlannerF). R2 and R3 agreed that the approach for some at the City meant that development could “get started quickly and bring in revenue” (R2-PlannerM), while others were concerned that floating bulk conditions were adhered to in the submitted spatial development plan and others of the City giving off land use rights to private developers, without appropriate public benefit and the MSDF vision of existing nodes.

R4: It was logical to worry about the existing nodes, because we thought we should rather be concentrating on getting investment into other nodes, such as Bellville, Voortrekker, Claremont, and Wynberg, Mowbray, etc. and of course the CBD. One would have thought that there would have been a more give back to public sector from the private sector.

R3: The best example of what a Package of Plans should be that there is that floating bulk that gets allocated to a site. The whole development was given certain conditionsso much offices, so much residential, etc.

R4 argues that the approach was often exploited to the benefit of the developer by allowing the developer to firstly maintain their framework even if the City's vision may have been revised over years, but at the same time allowed the developer leverage of negotiating land use adjustments as the market predicted. Most importantly the approach allowed for a swift approval process with minimal detail. This is contrary to the founding principles and intention of the process, which was to ensure ease of development to the benefit of the public (R4-PDevEconomist). R3 remarked, however, that there are parameters within which a design development framework is approved utilising this approach. The parameters ensured floating bulk requirements which the CCUDF adhered to (R3-PlannerF).

R4: The Package of Plans approach is a fast track process of approving plans. It was first used in the Waterfront, and was developed for public sector development, to streamline red-tape bureaucracies.

R3: The developers were very consistent in applying and maintaining the Century City Urban Design Framework (CCUDF) over the years of development.

R4 argues though that, in his experience as a private professional consultant, the extended and uncontrollable flexibility provided to the Century City development as a result of using this process, has caused the City of Cape Town to become reluctant to use this approach again, not only for private sector, but also for public developments. In sum, the package of plans approach is attractive to developers but is not always supported by municipal planners.

5.3.3 Business improvement and development opportunities

R2 recalls that when they had discussions with Martin Wragge he would open up a map of the Western Cape and point to the West Coast and northern areas and would

argue these are where opportunity is. R3 described that the CBD was already in decline at the time. Sea Point and the Waterfront contributed to the decline (R2-PlannerM). He used the example of the narrative of the two ice cream sellers and the Hotelling's model of spatial competition, validating the proximity of Century City to the CBD, Waterfront and other business opening closer to it. The developer and the planner believe that there was a big risk, and the city was not taking that risk. It was the developer that took the risk.

R3: I must be honest there, some of your smaller centres like, for instance in Milnerton like the Milpark centre were impacted.

R4: It affected other businesses, one of the immediate businesses were along Voortrekker road, small, medium and some larger.

The respondents all agreed that when Canal Walk opened it “swallowed” (R3-PlannerF) up the small and medium centres. R3 noted that Sable Square (adjacent to Century City) opened and was successful. Commercial enterprises in the surrounding areas had to “up their game”. He relates the development and surrounding services to that of Christaller's central place theory, where a node provides services to surrounding areas.

R4 described all “public” services in Century City were in fact private. R1 argued that people use private facilities; however, R4 believes that not to be a valid argument, considering the immediate surrounding areas of Tijerhof, Sanddrift, Joe Slovo Park, Marconi Beam and Summergreens, are largely public facility users. In his opinion they should have provided part of the site to develop public schools, libraries and other required municipal services. In that way they would have “contributed to the Cape Town community” (R4-PIDevEconomist), and the employees could have made use of it closer to work.

5.4 Observations

During my fieldwork visits in November of 2017 and February to March in 2018, Century City did not appear to provide accessible public facilities for those

coming in to work from across the greater Cape Town area. In effect, employees wanted to get home after work as they mostly lived in other districts across Cape Town. During one of my visits, I offered an employee at a well-known furniture lifestyle outlet a lift home to Bonteheuwel at about 22:30hrs and he explained that he walks to the taxi rank (fig. 19), as it does not collect them at the store inside the large mall parking. He explained that they do have taxies operating from the taxi interchange to take them home in the evenings, but the taxies are not allowed to enter Century City. Another employee explained that their company provides them with company transport when they work late hours. She noted that although she would have preferred to work closer to home (Khayelitsha), it is a safe environment to work in and the shifts provided her with the opportunity to study and earn a salary. A receptionist at an architectural consultancy firm explained that she comes in with her car, because, in her experience, public transport was unreliable and unsafe, although it does “make a dent” in her salary.

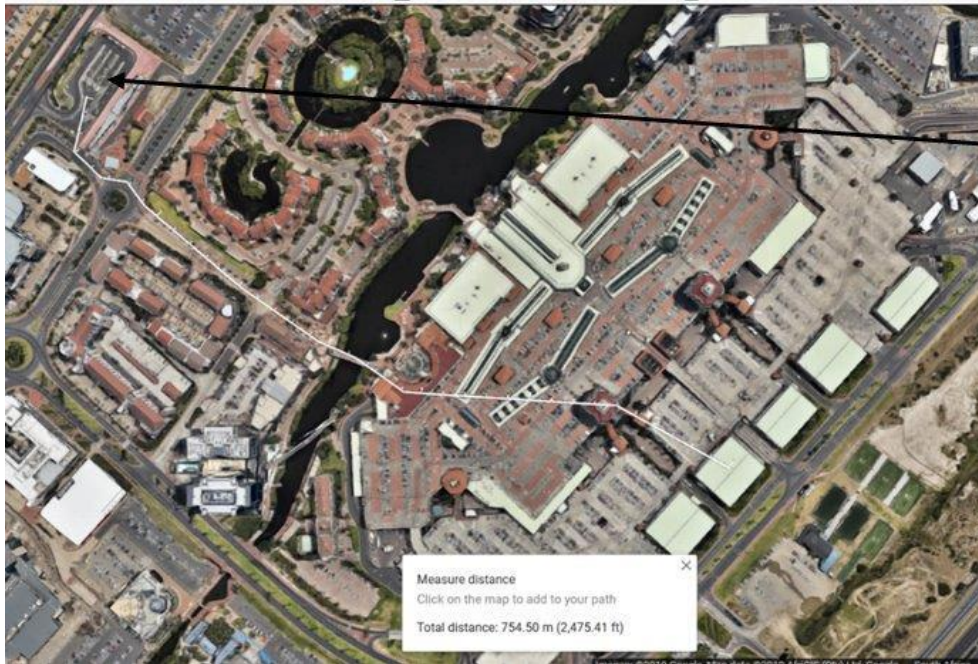
It was evident that during changing of shifts or closing time for both the mall and the offices, many pedestrians walk across the bridge connecting the mall to a stretch of pathway to the public transport interchanges to board either a taxi or a MyCiti bus (fig. 20 to 22) and from the various corporate office buildings across a well-paved and landscape area. This leads to steps going onto a road from where you are required to walk across the N1 highway to the Century City Railway station and a MyCiti bus shelter.

During my field observations in 2017 it was evident that the shopping mall users and employees did not enjoy benefits of the canal situated at the back of the mall, except for the food court outside area. Security guards were constantly ushering one away from the canal lawns. With my subsequent visits in December 2018, it appeared to me that more activity and use along the canal and the spaces had been created between office buildings, albeit in clusters. These remained separated from the residential compounds. Observation was that there may have been some attempt to improve

movement to allow the public spaces to become more vibrant. The many activities, such as running and sport clubs and activities, art and nature trails, open markets, etc., offered and advertised, have become more evident. So much so that I observed running along the mostly very narrow road reserve pavements and along the wider canal edge.

The boundary and edge of the entire site is distinctly separated by either masonry boundary walls or trees where there is palisade fencing and electric fencing where the walls are about 1800mm high (fig. 13). One could however drive through the boom gates to the mall and office buildings without being interrogated. I found however that while I was taking pictures within the complex the security seemed to have watched me but did not approach me. I felt uncomfortable and moved back into the shopping mall. The residential areas within Century City were accessible through controlled security guard and booms.

Economic opportunities were observed to be taking place in mainly corporate buildings and services, such as Chevron, Absa, Discovery, BMW, Vodacom Head office, etc., and high-end and branded stores, such as Woolworths, Edgars, Fraser, Poetry, @Home, etc. Century City notably comprises a commercial corporate services sector market in the form of professional entities, such as various consultancy and financial businesses etc. Century City amenities such as schools, health care facility, hotels, clubs, etc. were observed and confirmed through the Century City website to be private (CC website). There were no informal market sectors, such as local flea-markets. No municipal public amenities, such as a library a public clinic or other government services were evident at Century City. There are however private-sector facilities such as a school.



Taxi and Bus
terminus

Fig. 19 Distance of about 750m walk from furniture lifestyle store to taxi rank (Google Maps)



Figs. 20 (left) & 21 Pedestrian bridge to the taxi rank and view from bridge



Fig. 22 Pathway from bridge to
taxi rank



Fig. 23 Walk from Century City Rail to Canal Walk (source: Google Maps)



Fig. 24 View A – field visit



Fig. 25 View B – field visit

5.5 Documents

This section reviews the CCUDF (2005), relevant material from certain newspaper, news journal articles and policy documents of relevance to Century City.

5.5.1 Century City Urban Design Framework (CCUDF)

According to the Century City Urban Design Framework (CCUDF, 2005), the development complies with:

“Metropolitan spatial planning aims to re-inforce nodes, promote development along corridors and prevent sprawl beyond the urban edge. Century City is well located in relation to the Koeberg road corridor and is consistent with the city’s vision to promote economic growth and mixed-use development” (CCUDF, Introduction, 2005). Nodal development of the City of Cape Town Depicted in the CCUDF in Fig. 26.

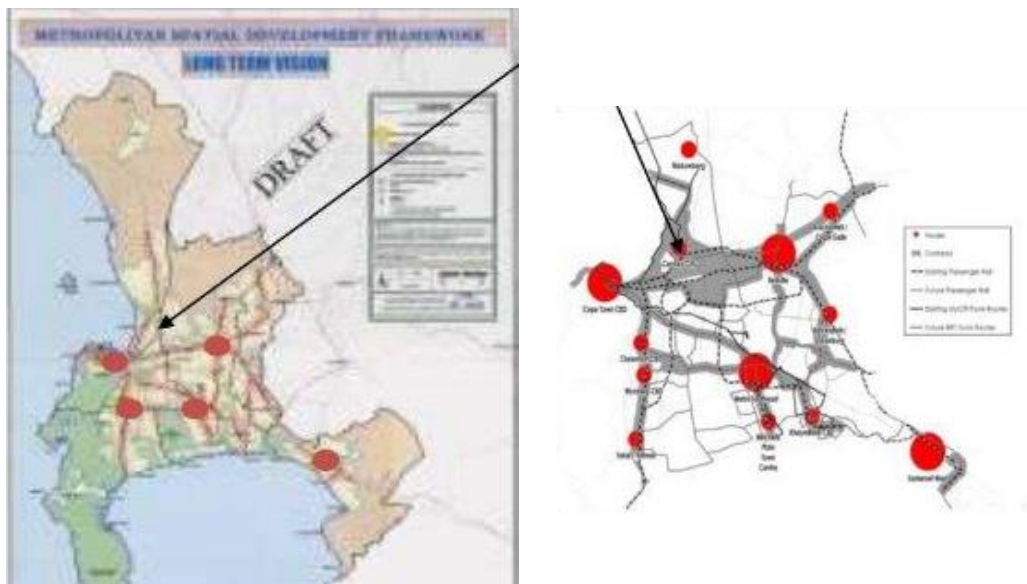


Fig. 26 Original nodal development along corridors (left) CCUDF, 2005 and Fig. 27 Current nodal development – 2018 SDF (right)

The CCUDF iterates that the development could be seen as “complementary to the Cape Town CBD and would provide multi-nodal opportunities” (CCUDF, 2005).

The CCUDF refers to Century City as an “urban structure”, and sets out directives to both the developers and their design team to conform to. These include core guidelines with regard to enhancing and protecting the “open space and water system as the focal feature” of the precinct, where Century Boulevard would “infuse life” making the boulevard “vibrant and attractive, pedestrian friendly and a prestigious address” (CCUDF, p14). The precinct is defined and secured by boom gates, security cameras and guard houses, described in the CCUDF, as “urban gateways” (CCUDF, p15), which ensures that the “public realm is managed and controlled efficiently” (CCUDF, p52). The vision and commitment of the Century City framework coincided with the City planner respondents’ accounts of it, viz.:

“Achieve an integrated, mixed-use development (work, play, shop and stay), create a good image and “sense of place”, provide a vibrant, rich experience for visitors and residents, achieve enhanced real estate and investment potential. Development management at Century City operates in terms of a “package of plans process”. Approvals are based on a development framework, precinct plan and site development plans. Development that is consistent with these plans can be implemented with the minimum of administrative delay.” (CCUDF, p6).

The CCUDF concludes its framework by emphasising that the framework has philosophical implications for policies; these include, amongst other, processes of approval, land use, design, public spaces, smart and sustainable development, environment and most importantly “obligation on the part of developers, Century City and the Property Owners’ Association to respect the urban design framework” (CCUDF, p62).

5.5.2 Increased development and bulk rights through public transport implementation and the densification policy.

The bulk approvals are discussed here with reference to newspaper articles and the densification policy of 2012 and making reference to the CTSDFs.

In 2011 Century City maintained its commitment of bulk required by the municipality

at inception years of the developments and increased the development's mix.

“Century City has development rights totalling more than 1,25-million square metres, of which just over 760 000 m² have already been built up and a further 93 000 m² are currently under construction or in various stages of planning. As we stand now, the built up area comprises around 300 000 m² of offices, more than 3 000 residential units and 150 000 m² of retail space as well as numerous leisure facilities, including Ratanga Junction and hotels, which is just over half of what this ‘city within a city’ will constitute when it is fully developed, and that there is no doubt Century City has reached critical mass in terms of mixed-use development, and is well geared and well-structured to take advantage of the economic upturn that the company believes is around the corner.”
(John Chapman, Rabie Property Group director – Engineering News, April 2011).

In 2013 the bulk released had increased to 900 000m² and 1000 000m² in 2015, which included subdivisions, new developments and the MyCiti Trunk Station (Cape Business News, 24, Aug., 2015). In 2012, fourteen feeder bus stops were in construction. All these public bus services were aimed at integrating “business parks and industries in Montague Gardens, residents of Joe Slovo and Marconi into the formal public transport network” (Colin Green, Rabie director – Engineering News, July 12, 2013). The June 2018 addition, reported that “measuring traffic tailback at the three exits of Century City” by CCPOA, traffic has decreased, however noted further construction of road widening is on the plan. These integrated transport orientated interventions, the “well managed taxi rank, the completion of the MyCiti’s fast, efficient and reliable service, making Century City arguably the most accessible node in Cape Town” (Colin Green – Cape Business News, 24 Aug. 2015).

Access to Century City from the N1 is via the Sable Road off ramp and leads into Ratanga Road (fig. 28). General access to the precinct is therefore limited to vehicular access, until 2010, when the Century City train station was built on an existing railway

line on the east side of the N1 highway and opened for services on 8 June 2010. The R45million railway was funded by The Passenger Rail Agency of South Africa (PRASA) in collaboration with the Century City and was a “precondition for municipal approval of the greater Century City property development” (Engineering News, Apr. 2011) to link the Cape Town CBD to Belville and Stellenbosch business nodes. The article describes the 2010 Fifa World Cup prompted earlier development of the railway station, which commenced in 2009 (also refer fig. 18 in Ch. 4). Century City had to provide park and ride facilities for vehicles, allowing the public to park at Century City board the train from Century City railway station to the Cape Town CBD for the games. The MyCiTi bus services replaced the Century City feeder busses in 2013. (Engineering News quotes Jeremy Leighton project engineer for Terraforce) (fig. 28 and 29).



Fig. 28 MyCiti bus routes in Century City (Your MyCiti Guide, 2017)



Fig. 29 Schematic MyCiti bus routes in Century City (Your MyCiti Guide, 2017)

The CTSPF's strategy of 2012 to 2018 for growth and investment has changed from outward to inward (fig. 30), therefore encouraging densification. The CTSPF and Densification policies of centralised and densified development respectively, aided in the approval of further development (amended CCUDF application, June, 2017, municipal case ID 70355374).

Densification in the policy of 2012 is defined as:

"The increased use of space, both horizontally and vertically, within existing areas/properties and new developments, accompanied by an increased number of units and/or population threshold" (CT Densification Policy, 2012).

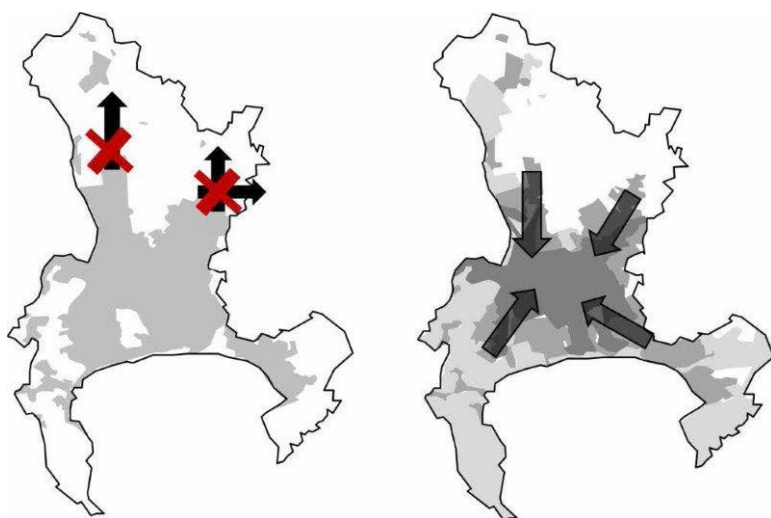


Fig. 30 Development investment SDF, 2018

The aim of this policy was to increase threshold densities of population, economic development and public transport within a set area. This policy contributed to the increased bulk rights to the developer. This policy cites various legislation and policies, such as the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) and Development Facilitation Act (Act 67 of 1995) (DFA) (now replaced by SPLUMA), IDP and CTSDf as supporting documents that guide this policy. The policy identifies key mechanisms to encourage the densification strategy, viz., “land use, financial, regulatory and procedural measures and communication strategies” (Densification Policy, 2012; Annexure 1, p19).

5.5.3 The Municipal Planning By-Law of 2015

The following by-laws described in this section are relevant to the research question and topic of megaproject development in regard to spatial transformation, economic development and the required conditions to an applicant’s motivation. These by-laws describe conditions for development by means of the package of plans, extent of land-use rights and the need for public transportation and densities. Furthermore, the by-law includes conditions for deviation from the SDF.

The Municipal Planning By-law of 2015 refers to the Package of Plans as a “hierarchy of plans that.....applies to areas that generally referred to as Special Planning Areas” (SPA) (p82), and is applied to mainly zoning and land use conditions, whereby further application would be required with regard to granting permission or conditions of floor space and densities. In both sections 123 and 136 of this by-law it is stated that:

“The City may require that the area covered by a contextual framework shall extend beyond the land under consideration if, in its opinion, the proposed development will have a wider impact, and the City may determine the extent of such area.” (pgs. 139 and 142).

The by-law outlines utility and transport application requirements in that private development should adhere to specific zoning for the infrastructural development

within the area of development. The by-law further states that:

“There is a close relationship between transportation and development, and appropriate development can help to promote public transport” (chapter 11, p127).

“The general business zonings are designed to promote economic development in business districts and development corridors, and include a wide range of land uses such as business, residential and community uses” (chapter 9, p119).

The municipal planning by-law of 2015 allows for deviation from the spatial development framework and further does not allow the framework to “confer or take away rights” which already exist (p20). However, section 99 permits policy to guide the form of rights that have not been realised yet (i.e. latent bulk), through submission of SDPs prior to development, which forms part of the package of plans approval process.

5.6 Conclusion

Century City has impacted the trajectory of the vision of Cape Town from the time the development commenced. According to the MSDF at the time (1996) and subsequent 2012 MSDF, development and growth was to be decentralised outward from the city, since post-apartheid displacements from the city were away from urban centre, where development and jobs were needed. However, an effort appears to have been made by the private developer to bridge this by incorporating and contributing to public transport orientated routes. Since profit is revealed to be a key factor in managing and maintaining a megaproject such as Century City, high-end market services and accommodations are catered for. The key justifications for approvals revealed in the findings were that of investment, densification, centralisation, inclusivity, integration, public spaces and work opportunities. Densification and economic growth through investment, were key components of the City’s vision presented as motivation in the site development plan and the latter elements were presented as that of the vision of

CCUDF. Contributing to correcting the legacy of apartheid spatial and social inequalities, as per the vision of the City of Cape Town, did not appear to have been considered in the motivation nor the approval of Century City. The next chapter will analyse these findings in relation to the literature reviewed on urban megaproject justification and benefits.

CHAPTER 6: ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION

6.1 Introduction

To summarise what has been outlined in the introductory chapter: the purpose of this qualitative case study is to explore the contribution or impact of Century City on City of Cape Town's vision of spatial transformation in the context of integration and inclusivity. This is used as a measurement to understand the goal of the study which is to examine how megaprojects are justified and who they benefit. The case study applies to Century City. As described in chapter three (research methodology), this chapter analyses the data having used the triangulation method in validating key themes that emerged from the findings and testing credibility of the data in relation to the literature reviewed and empirical indicators on urban megaprojects. The communicated environment and content is further interpreted through discourse analysis in relation to the knowledge and theory in chapter two.

The findings are analysed and discussed in this chapter to answer the research questions, recapped as follows:

1. How has Century City contributed or impacted the municipality's vision of spatial transformation for Cape Town?
2. What were the key justifications by the applicant and the City for the approval of Century City in terms of City policy and legislation?
3. What are the lessons learnt from the case study and how can they contribute to future planning by the City of Cape Town?

This chapter commences with 6.2 how Century City may have contributed or impacted on the City's vision of spatial transformation, discussing the key themes identified from the findings; namely, mixed-use concept, centralisation, densification, environmental sustainability, management, control, consistency and policy influence and how these may have formed part of the justification for approval and how it relates to the literature. Some of these themes further emerged in 6.3 as justification by the applicant and the City for the approval of the development. As I am not an economist, I endeavour to briefly interpret economic growth and / or economic development

contribution of Century City to the greater Cape Town in section 6.3 of this chapter. In 6.4, I review the lessons from the study and 6.5 concludes the chapter.

6.2 How has Century City contributed or impacted the municipality's vision of spatial transformation for Cape Town?

The MSDFs since 1996 have all promoted integration and inclusivity as key factors in addressing apartheid spatial inequalities. In examining the findings, the terms integration and inclusivity are re-examined here in terms of the City of Cape Town vision and the knowledge of these components on the literature of mixed-use megaprojects. As indicated in the introductory chapter, this study focusses on the City's vision of spatial transformation through the components of integration and inclusivity.

Integration and Inclusivity have been key initiatives in spatial equity in all the MSDF policy frameworks since 1996. It is described in the 2012 MSDF as follows:

Inclusivity: Strategy one undertakes that the City will “plan for employment, and improve access to economic opportunities by:

- reducing distance between where people live and work, especially for those living in the metropolitan southeast;
- support the development of a good public transport system that conveniently takes people to wherever they live, work and play; and
- encourage shops, businesses, higher-density residential development and industries to locate on routes well served by public transport, namely activity and development routes, so that people can reach them more easily.”

Inclusivity and Integration: Strategy three (Spatial strategy one in the 2017/18 MSDF) continues in that to “build an inclusive, integrated, vibrant city”, local government will drive “actions that will build a vibrant city, where people have more equal access to the city's amenities and opportunities”, whereby the MSDF seeks to:

- “transform the apartheid city by encouraging a better social and land use mix in neighbourhoods”;

- “protect and enhance the unique sense of space and value of the diverse cultural and scenic assets and heritage that Cape Town offers”;
- “create places that are easy to reach and can be enjoyed by all”; and
- “guide the City’s budget” to achieve all of the above.

While strategy one focusses on access by means of transport, strategy three emphasises space and place making, and transforming post-apartheid planning. The IDP incorporates these strategies as elements of the opportunity, inclusive, integrated and vibrant city. The city goals of integration and inclusivity is embedded in the IDP focus area of “the opportunity city” and “the inclusive city”. The IDP endeavours to achieve this by “creating an economically enabling environment”, (IDP, 2012-2017; p7) through programmes that foster investment, build and support infrastructure, administration processes, regulations, public-private partnerships and employment access. The IDP further advocate to attain an inclusive city by recognising and effecting equity and diversity through these policies and programmes. The literature reveals these to be key principles of a just city.

The principle of a democratic just city specifically identifies the importance and collaboration of communities (Fainstein, 2010) which the findings reveal to have been almost non-existent during the Century City development. The findings further revealed that the key stakeholders at the time of the Century City development were local government and the developer. Public Participation of the surrounding and larger communities was limited and further objections or community discourse with both the developer and government could not be found beyond what was articulated in the interviews and confirmed in the Finweek article referenced in the previous chapters 4 and 5. This may be as a result of the quick approval granted by the local authority at the time the development was initiated. In urban mixed-use megaprojects, the developer’s proposal comment by social groups is often not encouraged (Orueta and Fainstein, 2008) and scholars in the field of planning and urban megaproject implementation concur that often little to no public participation takes place before and during development. This is especially prevalent in private developments (Flyvbjerg, 2014; Oreuta & Fainstein 2008; Brenner et al., 2009; Kennedy, et al., 2011;

Bordorf et al., 2016).

The findings revealed that Century City was strategically located by the developer. It was built on a greenfield wetland, and required tremendous capital input. Development was therefore diverted from the planned corridors of the 1996 MSDP and the revitalisation and investment of existing nodes and disadvantaged areas. The shopping mall was the first facility built to attract and draw people to the site, creating a focus of influence. The Ratanga Theme Park followed, providing entertainment. The design of controlled public spaces of the shopping mall, as the focal point is argued by Mark and Bezolli (2001) as a means to control people, keep them within the mall to shop, be entertained and come to work. The strengthening and reinforcing of a culture of malls in megaproject development (Firman, 2004) had already started to emerge in Cape Town, with the Victoria Wharf Shopping Centre and Tyger Valley Shopping Centre, less than 10 and 15 minutes' drive apart. The characteristic of Century City correlate to those of megaprojects cited in the literature. Equity and diversity characteristics, in line with post-apartheid vision, with reference to incorporating and reinforcing Cape Town heritage, did not appear to have been established in the Century City development.

6.3 What were the key justifications by the applicant and the City for the approval of Century City in terms of City policy and legislation?

A condition for approval was that a property owners' association be established. The Century City Property Owners Association (CCPOA) was established and now "manages the entire Century City precinct, functioning as a mini-municipality" (CC website) and is currently the connection between various property owners and the municipality. A prospective development cannot submit any plans to the City municipality until these have been scrutinised by the CCPOA and the design team (CCUDF, 2005). The data results indicated that the developer's planning rationale were consistent in execution of the development. The study illustrates that the developer has maintained its objectives of a mixed-use, well managed development - another characteristic concurred by scholars (Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003). The Century City vision and key components have been maintained in the 120 000m²

Ratanga development approved by the City of Cape Town in September 2018, illustrated in fig. 31 (Business Insider, 1 Oct. 2018).



Fig. 31 New Ratanga Junction development

The findings further revealed that there were three key elements that may have bought much favour for the developer. Firstly, the developer's commitment to environmental sustainability involved maintaining or redirecting the wetlands into manmade cells, taking effluent to the site for irrigation and recycling efforts of a dual plumbing system, etc., A second element was densified development and thirdly revenue and investment. Planners were however divided on the approval of the development at the time, citing various reasons viz., the process of approval, concern for diverting from MSDF direction of development on prescribed corridors and the location and type of development in proximity to the CBD. Turok (1992) concurs that while some believed this type of urban development to be an opportunity to revitalise and renew the city others thought it to be a diversion and superficial. However, the developer lobbied a convincing, well presented motivation to municipal officials (interviews) and despite uncertainty between planners, approval was swayed in favour of the developer, allowing the developer a basket of bulk rights, reviewed as development proceeded (interviews R1,2,3, & 4; Approval letter, 14 Aug. 1996).

It was clear that the discourses on the subject may have shaped approval decisions and thereby overlooking certain policy direction by the MSDF of decentralised development and investment along corridor routes that would bridge the spatial

inequality. The strategic location, vastness of the site, large infrastructure requirements, risk involved and “inclusionary” mix of services concur with the literature as distinguished characteristics of urban megaprojects around the world (Gellert & Lynch, 2003; Orueta and Fainstein, 2008; Flyvberg et al., 2003; Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003; et al.). The literature reviewed describes, from studies by these scholars, that megaprojects are displacing in nature as they transform and alter the landscape. Gellert and Lynch (2003) elaborate further, noting that while there may not have been physical human displacement, bio-geophysical alterations to the site have socio-spatial impacts such as “loss of access to the resource, unemployment with completion of the project and creation of new identities” (Gellert and Lynch, 2003, p16). This description of urban megaproject, one may argue, coincides with the Century City development.

The emphasis of a “sense of place, public environment and public realm” as key components of the design, written in quotation marks in the Century City framework (CCUDF, 2005; p5, 6, 8 and 62), may imply reservation for a specific public or to “anyone who can afford it” (R3-PlannerF). The literature on urban megaprojects concurs (Marshall, 2003; Shatkin, 2008; Harris, 2014) that these developments mostly cater for certain groups of high-income earners or knowledge professions. This is further entrenched within the development whereby each cluster of land uses was separated from the other, creating boundaries between residential, hotels and lifestyle facilities, corporate and shopping components. These are clustered to serve the people in the “buildings around that space” (CCUDF, 2005; Applicants motivation, 2017, s10.3, p15). These public areas are emphasised in municipal applications as it speaks to the City’s vision of integration, and presenting it as innovative and complying with MSDF goals; however, public spaces have been the focal point in cities for centuries (R4-PDev.Economist; Watson & Gibson, 1995) but they do not act as gathering spaces in Century City.

The findings further revealed that integration and inclusivity were the key components presented in the CCUDF, but may, however, not have been fully achieved within Century City as a precinct. The design then and now exhibits results that have not

achieved the functionality of creating spaces that encourages free movement amongst the various “design features and urban structures” (CCUDF, 2005) within and outside the precinct, as may have been the intention (R1-Developer). This separation is further defined by a visible boundary around the precinct. Harris (2017) observes that the “boundaries may not take the form of gated communities, but access patterns, transport infrastructure, exclusive land uses, and public-domain design can set up clear socio-spatial demarcations” (Harris, 2017, p84 cites Marshal, 2003 and Rofo, 2010). This is the case in Century City.

The findings unambiguously identify the important role of transport and movement infrastructure in the development of Century City. Road infrastructure within the precinct formed part of the approval conditions, so too did public transport facilities (Approval letter, 14 Aug. 1996, 1999 Rezoning approval, ref.: AF220/19/4/2-M37, and 2017 Application, case ID 70355374). The literature concurs that associate transport infrastructure to almost always being new in urban megaprojects (del Cerro, 2013; Orueta and Fainstein, 2008; Harris 2014; et al.). The transport efforts implemented by the developer of Century City presented efforts to spatially integrate with wider Cape Town. R1, the developer, explained that they made efforts in 1996 to have a bus service to and within Century City and a train station on the existing rail tract running between the site and Milnerton. However, negotiations with both Golden Arrow Bus Service (GABS) and PRASA did not reap any success. The developer incorporated their own shuttle service within the site, until MyCiti took over those internal routes. Public transport has proved to be an important component of Century City, during initiation and more so with subsequent municipal submissions. This, both the planners and the developer noted, were efforts to integrate greater Cape Town and further extend on the policies of Transport Orientated Development (TOD) and facilitate access of diverse sectors of the Cape Town to Century City. The findings indicate that the developer financed the infrastructure of public transport interchanges (PTIs) and routes to it within the site, but financed external infrastructure in collaboration with government (Engineering News cited in chapter 4). Currently the various public transport services and infrastructure are being operated by government and service mostly consumers and employees from Khayelitsha,

Mitchells Plain and South-eastern areas, situated on the urban periphery. The promotion of access to Century City for the greater Cape Town community suggests the need of support from these communities, whether for work, as consumers or entertainment. As a result of these transport connections there is access to Century City but with preference given to car users. Public transport users have poor access and are only able to access Century City from the outskirts.

The results indicate that Century City is now a well-developed node that ascribes to more of a middle and upper than lower income market, a node which has now been fitted into the MSDF and City vision. As concurred in the literature, urban megaprojects have a tendency to divert planned government direction (Lemanski, 2007; Robins, 2014; et al.). The literature has identified with this trend of development, which is widespread in the northern cities and has begun to become apparent in the developing and Global South cities (Shatkin, 2008; Robins, 2015; Kennedy, 2015; et al.). They further concur that nodes of megaprojects within or on the edge of the urban periphery, indirectly guide development policies. The Century City development may be setting a model for developers to invest away from city nodal development objectives. Hence, investment in post-apartheid objectives to address spatial inequalities by promoting small businesses and investing in identified nodal zones may be diverted. This diversion may have been considered justified, since circular 3/2015 of the City of Cape Town permits site-specific deviation from the MSDF. This, the circular notes, is supported by SPLUMA legislation section 22 in that the “Municipal Planning Tribunal (MPT) or mandated authority” (p2), such as the case officer, may depart from the MSDF (CoCT circular 3/2015, p2). While there are qualifying criteria which align to the spatial transformation policies for all applications, I was unable to find an additional set of criteria for the deviation thereof, except that clear reasons for deviations is assessed by the municipal tribunal before approving such deviation.

6.4 Who benefits from megaproject economic growth and economic development?

The economist respondent, R4, noted that there is a difference between economic

growth and economic development. Economic growth is measured as a percentage in actual gross domestic product (GDP) and indicates the output of a city or country's goods and services, while economic development, measured in human development index (HDI), focusses on the process of growth of the economy and how it affects peoples' lives both quantitatively (income) and qualitatively (quality of life). While the former is short term, the latter takes a longer time to yield results (EDUCBA website). The Cape Town IDP (2012-2017) review subscribe to a "multi-pronged vision" of both economic growth and economic development to enable an inclusive environment.

The findings reflected the need for the Blaauwberg municipality to attract growth through investment and development, provide services and goods, generate income and locate the city in the global economic arena and, thereby, through these investments, guarantee to improve the lives of its citizens. This striving towards large scale investment is recognised in the literature which documents the government turning to private sector investment (Kennedy, 2015; Altshuler and Luberoft, 2003, Roy, 2010, Shatkin, 2007; Lemanski, 2007; et al.). The discourse analysis of the interviews, shows that revenue and investment were probably the most controversial and possibly the most important factors that justified the development of Century City. Century City as a boost for investment presented *the* opportunity for the district administration. Visser and Kotze (2008), Donaldson (2001), Kennedy (2015) and Turok and Mykhnenk, 2007, amongst others, concur that megaproject development provided new opportunities in post-apartheid democracy. The findings indicated that Blaauwberg municipality at the time was determined to use these means to increase their tax base, arguing that it would provide opportunities. These opportunities were realised in the form of jobs opportunities during construction and subsequently with the various knowledge, accommodation, financial, retail and other corporate service industries. This contribution has placed the Blaauwberg district as the highest growth rate district with 4.2% between 2005 and 2015 (SEP, 2017). While the Cape Metro revenue has increased within sectors in this district, it causes "above-inflation increases" in rates when almost half of the Cape Metro earns less than R7000 a month resulting in a "mismatch in labour markets" and municipal spent on infrastructure (Municipal Economic Review & Outlook, 2015, p68).

The findings further revealed that although Century City may have caused an initial negative impact on businesses on the Voortrekker corridor, Marconi Beam, Milnerton and other surrounding areas, businesses were encouraged indirectly to improve business infrastructure and further new developments that were established in the areas around Century City. The results of the study further ascertain that the business community attracted greater investment, and invested in locations that provided infrastructure and better work experiences. The results indicate that Century City has become a popular location for businesses, irrespective of the travelling challenges experienced by staff and companies. This therefore has further prompted the City to invest in additional infrastructure, such as public transport routes, notably in the Blaauwberg district, which was already a thriving developed district. Investors and businesses prefer establishing and growing their companies where the infrastructure already exist (Turok, 2001). Hence, while economic growth has increased, so too did economic development for the people in an already developed northern district, “serving the wealthier parts of the city” (Watson, 2009, p189).

Lemanski (2007) concurs that the success of Century City (and other northern areas), encouraged further development in the area. “These developments concentrated investment in already-affluent spaces; they have also occurred at the expense of development or investment in the city’s poverty-stricken south-eastern areas” (Lemanski, 2007, p455). People of the south-eastern areas travel long distances to Century City to work, both for safety reasons and because the opportunities do not exist where they live. The findings further reveal that City planners interviewed, continue to marvel at the success and scale of Century City, the opportunities and life style it offers and believe that TOD solves and bridges the spatial inequity.

Gellert and Lynch (2003) (cites, Cernea, 2000) goes a step further and argues that megaproject employment cannot be justified if it does “not contribute significantly to poverty eradication”; instead, that displacement investments divert the planned trajectory of economic development (Gellert and Lynch, 2003, p23; Kennedy, 2015), from the poorer living on the urban periphery. Flyvbjerg et al. (2003), Kennedy (2015),

Alshuler and Luberoff (2003), Orueta and Fairstein (2009), amongst others in the literature reviewed, identified that the projected benefits to both the surrounding communities and city wide, by virtue of these projects, are often exaggerated by the stakeholders.

The Century City project therefore did offer economic benefits in its surrounding areas and to the municipality. It did however not benefit the poorer population of Cape Town more widely and it did not overcome spatial segregation on a metropolitan scale.

6.5 Conclusion

In reviewing the key findings in relation to what sets the standard for an equitable just Cape Town, I take the reader back to Fainstein's principles of equity, democracy and diversity. In the competitive capital global expansion, standard of living improvement may always commensurate with income. Most scholars across the field of social science studies, cited in this paper, argue that diversity is achieved by creating accessible social services and economic opportunities in proximity of various income groups of people. Governments should include communities and community organisations as part of public-private partnerships. In this way, diversity of integration and inclusivity will be fostered in developments as Century City. South African and municipal policies and legislations include the definition of equity; however, government must become vigilant in executing it and not explore justification clauses to divert from the vision of Cape Town.

It is evident in the findings that Century City has to a degree met the spatial transformation objectives of City policy in terms of addressing spatial inequality through the following:

1. Creation of jobs and local economic development by encouraging a variety of business;
2. Creating access to jobs through both private and public transport infrastructure;
3. Densification;
4. Mixed-use development; and

5. Heritage in respect of the protecting the natural environment and species.

However, Century City does not meet the City spatial transformation objectives in respect of the following:

1. Location of development is not along the planned corridor nodes;
2. Investment is diverted from the Cape Flats and metro-south east areas;
3. Century City does not incorporate social and land use mix of neighbourhoods through its design;
4. It does not make provision for all income groups in respect of housing and amenities;
5. Opportunities of small and informal businesses are not provided for.

While the City of Cape Town continues to refine one MSDF after the other, striving and committing to bridge the apartheid spatial disparities, Century City continues to develop and execute its vision aimed at a particular market of the private sector. As with most private urban mixed-use megaprojects, “economic and political changes occur alongside their development” (Orueta & Fainstein, 2008, p765). Fainstein (2010) believes, that from continuous pressure by the city “systems” such as government policy and community pressure, the aim to create a just city can still be achieved. She further emphasises the need to take meticulous note of the experience gained from these type of developments. The following policy implications chapter, analyses and discusses city systems in respect of government policy.

CHAPTER 7 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

7.1 Introduction

Urban policy is a term usually cited in the body of literature as policies related to “the management of urban areas” (Pillay, 2008, p109). The importance of urban policy necessitates the need for “government-led process of coordinating and rallying various actors for a common vision and goal that will promote more transformative, productive, inclusive and resilient urban development for the long term” (UN-Habitat, 2014, piii). Pillay (2008) expounds that urban policy is influenced by policies beyond local level governance. It is not my intention to put forward policies here to guide future megaprojects; rather, just to interpret the impacts and significance of the implementation of Century City. This chapter therefore expands on chapter 6.

7.2 Policy influences – does policy influence whom megaprojects benefit?

A number of scholars agree that policy at the local level is influenced by national and international forces (Pillay, 2008; Kennedy, 2015; Turok and Parnell, 2009; Watson, 2002; Shatkin, 2014; et al.). However, how policy is drafted, interpreted and acted upon at local level may not always address the enormity of the challenges of the status quo. Bond (2003) argues that while the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the African National Congress (ANC) identified “leveraging private sector funds for community development” (Bond, 2003: p151), this was absent in practice and policy.

Various factors related to government emerged in the data collected. Firstly, local government’s mandate and responsibility as a key role player allowed the developer to dictate or motivate their development through the Package of Plan process and to obtain bulk land use rights and approval with a CCUDF. Secondly, the developer guaranteed investment in the district. The mixed-use, transport infrastructure contribution, high density concept presented by the developer were sound principles for approval. Although public engagement and contribution were considered paramount to development in post-apartheid democratic policies, these were not applied adequately. Thirdly, and possibly the most important in view of this paper, is that legislated regulation and conditions for private sector development projects to

comply with post-apartheid strategic goals, such as investment in prescribed corridors, were not committed to. The developer was not obligated to contribute to improvement to pertinent socio-economic circumstances of the poorer, marginalised communities and was not required to incorporate planning principles to correct apartheid spatial inequalities through their development. The absence of predetermined re-evaluation and adjustment to any private or public development frameworks were limited. Oversight, misinterpretation and changing policies did not bind the developer to conform to the updated local government SDF or IDP. Hence, developments such as Century City can continue to develop on outdated approvals.

Pillay (2008) notes that policy is often shaped by national goals and external international forces and, while national goals are mandated to local government in South Africa, the findings shows that legislated statutory regulations and direction may be the reason the processes and practices result in the diversion of policies for economic growth through investments above public policy. Turok and Parnell (2009; p172) emphasise the need for “national urban strategies to complement and reinforce essential action at a local scale”, to guide and measure outcomes, particularly in relation to economic development with spatial equity goals. Development and spatial outcomes require to be directed and monitored at a national level through legislation.

7.3 Policy guidance – Are policies clear enough to direct transformative mixed-use megaproject development

I draw from Pieterse's paper (2007, planning workshop) on the role of local government within a developmental state. He notes that National Government recognised the trend of continuous exclusionary economic practices since 1994. He argues, however, that the Local Government Transition Act (LGTA) of 1993, did not address this but instead perpetuated the “skewed representation in favour of entrenched interests” (Pieterse, 2007; p4). In addition, local government lacked economic expertise and was unable to correlate economic growth with the broader needs of inclusivity and integration of the larger regional disparities. While municipal policies had to exhibit national priorities, there was no distinct guidance or instruction as to exactly how these were to be pursued across the various sectors of government

(Pieterse, 2007).

The findings reveal and concur with the literature reviewed (Shatkin, 2008; Steenkamp and Winkler, 2014) in that political short-term driven development surpasses the long-term strategic goals. This is evident in the lack of transformation in respect of inclusionary housing and public services of the previously disadvantaged. The findings further concur with Gellert and Lynch (2003) in the literature reviewed and the interviews, of the direct influence that megaproject developers have over political actors. This “relation” often guides the understanding and implementation of policy. In certain cases, policies are created to favour international investment and large companies. Distinct direct government policies are able to direct and regulate megaproject processes and relate to benefits for the city. Both the literature reviewed and the finding of the interviews and policies reviewed suggest that when policies are indecisive or ambiguous it projects a “weak state” (Gellert and Lynch, 2003; p23), and is easily taken advantage of by developers. Currently planners at local government have begun to question private development and how it conforms to planning principles and policies which, are inherently in favour of socio-economic growth of marginalised communities.

7.4 Whom did the Package of Plans approach benefit?

When the Package of Plans approach was utilised in the Century City development application, there was no regulatory direction to link the development to spatial motives through land use management. While the Package of Plans process was a method of promoting strategic goals, the approach could be manipulated.

The SDF is based on planning principles that support local community, and economic development as well as public-private partnerships. While the Package of Plans process was a method of linking these strategic goals, the general basket of rights provided by means of this mechanism favoured the developer. Steenkamp and Winkler (2014) expressed in their research that there has been reluctance on the part of the local authority to decline private development applications, since the Package of Plans was still linked to the Land Use Planning Ordinance (15 of 1985) (LUPO),

which was amalgamated in the apartheid era. This positioned the local municipality planners at a disadvantage and gave the developer room to obtain development rights. Approval may be refused only if the land is not utilised “desirably on the basis of its effect on existing rights; or, if it affects the safety and welfare of the community” (Steenkamp and Winkler, 2014; p345). The Western Cape Land Use Planning Act, 3 of 2014 came into effect in July 2015 and allowed independence for local authority in the approval of land use submissions. This may in the future compel developers to produce urban development frameworks that are drafted compliant to municipal goals set out in the SDF. Steenkamp and Winkler (2014) note that the approach has many advantages used in combination with the SDF. These are results that could ensure positive municipal goal oriented outcomes.

7.5 Social collaboration and public partnerships in urban policy

While policy should guide the process of legislation, if that policy is not clearly defined in law the true objectives could easily be overlooked. This was the primary factor whereby public participation could easily be downplayed. At the time that the CCUDF was approved, the immediate surrounding communities did not have the knowledge of the megaproject details. In these cases, the public is easily misled or subtly bypassed. Those in proximity to the megaproject development often are more directly affected while those further away do not always realise the underlying indirect consequences of megaproject development where no or little policy allows for public participation from the onset of the project.

Collaboration between governments in addressing participation with the non-governmental sector has to be prioritised in policy (Pieterse, 2007). He notes that while there was some participation, it “was unsatisfactory and weak” (Pieterse, 2007; p9) and local government did not include the larger marginalised communities, not necessarily because they did not want to, but because there was insufficient guidance or direction as to how to interpret policy to result into positive mandated outcomes. Strategies that would result in diverse economic growth, spatial transformation and clear decisive rules of engagement with private sector development were vague. Megaprojects are treated with distinct governance attention and require large scale

commitment from government resources (Altshuler and Luberoff, 2003), although these may not be immediately apparent at the outset. National regulations on civic participation are key in composing transformative growth policies. Governments are often pressurised to “adapt growth-orientated policies” (Shatkin 2008, 387) to foster and maintain a lucrative environment for international investments. Urban policies are struggling between trying to correct the inequality through spatial planning policies and converging global trends. While trying to adapt global trends, analysts and researchers agree that many local community dynamics are overlooked (Shatkin, 2008).

7.6 The politics of megaprojects in spatial reform

Although government should adapt policies for economic growth there is often a leniency toward developers, because of the expertise and investment they present. Century City may have brought investment closer to the CBD, but it has profited well from being allowed to develop with no contribution to the city’s spatial and social transformation, other than creating jobs and providing public transport in the local area. The fact that the developer obtained the various rights and benefited from these rights from government could have been utilised as a catalyst for policy direction and to encourage practice changes to other developers and developments. Cape Town, as in many cities in the urban areas of developing countries, has relied on these investments to be part of economic growth. Often investments resulted in planning being guided by global trends, and because these investors often collaborate with governments they often influenced processes at government level (Harris, 2014), also cited previously in the literature review. Planning, in the realm of government policies, has slowly begun to dominate government planning powers. Shatkin (2008) further notes that the vision of private sector considerations and liberal market economy have an influence on policy, where governments often emulate policies of western countries.

Todes and Turok (2018), suggest three factors that are overlooked in the spatial policy debate. They argue that national policy has the ultimate power to guide local spatial trajectories and spatial policies can be sustained by “social cohesion” (p27), by

ensuring that trust is developed amongst government, developers and various communities through a collective understanding of required outcomes of spatial policy. They elaborate further in that local governments are often weak and need to be provided with the necessary capacity and thereby be held accountable in terms of spatial policy goals.

7.7 Conclusion

Possible misunderstanding and contrasting interpretation of policies resulted in the loss of the national post-apartheid vision and objectives of inclusivity and integration. Irrespective of the many policy directives to guide apartheid spatial planning and socio-economic transformation, economic growth appears to be a standalone deliverable. It may be concluded that policies did not adequately respond and address the needs of the post-apartheid agenda and that the private developers were able to bypass the mandate by weaknesses in the policy system.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

In the light of having followed through on the objectives of this study, this chapter further discusses the lessons learned from the study, possible future research recommendations and concluding remarks

The objectives for my dissertation, in line with the research problem statement, were to:

- Engage the literature in understanding what constitutes a just city, megaproject impacts and characteristics;
- Examine the contribution of planning approval processes and policy implications in motivating the Century City development;
- Explore the key stakeholders;
- Reflect on issues of design and effects on the surrounding areas and general economic and social impacts;
- Identify the target market and its influence on planning of the development;
- Question possible intended or unintended spatial impacts on the greater Cape Town; and
- Analyse the findings through qualitative research methods, using the case study design.

Mixed-used megaprojects are not a new phenomenon and continue to intrigue scholars, governments and developers with their ever-changing development dynamics and global competitive ambition. While many studies in the field have found similar characteristics across megaproject developments, and drafted guidelines, each case in each city requires to be open to understanding both benefits and lessons focussing on their particular urban environment and more importantly their indigenous dynamics. Policies, legislations and processes are important drivers in directing tangible results on the ground.

8.2 Lessons from the study

There were three distinct objectives that emerged from the data. Firstly, that of profit, secondly that of income to the city and thirdly applications directed to ensure the first two objectives. Declarations of densification, centralisation, inclusivity, integration, public spaces and work opportunities echoed over spatial and social objectives. It must be understood though that mixed-use, dense developments are not new. Cities have always attracted and integrated diverse economic activities and people. Private developments in today's cities, appear to operate as separate entities, instead of part of the city as a whole. They further create a perception of being in competition with the rest of the city, instead of striving toward the common City vision.

A further lesson from the study is that government does not appear to comprehend the power they have in directing private megaproject development and investment, and it may be argued that instead of taking charge and leading development, various reasons are established to legitimise private development over and above the goals of the City's vision of spatial transformation. It is evident in this case study that the private developer, knowledge industries and upper income user, largely benefit from the development. Government was highly impressed with what the developer offered and how it would raise the status of Cape Town. They may have overlooked or considered it not necessary to involve the larger Cape Town public.

Another lesson in these developments is that design has a large role to play in the goals and outcomes of urban development. The respondents acknowledged that the design failed to achieve true public integration or inclusivity, and has placed pressure on public infrastructure and the surrounding business community. The strategic, inhibiting boundaries of the location and design contribute to reduced accessibility to surrounding communities. The vehicular access oriented design limits pedestrian access. People using public transport are mostly from lower income areas and work at Century City. It was evident these accessibility restrictions allow people into the development to either shop or work there, most of whom cannot afford to live there. The adjacent lower income and first racially integrated area (Summergreens), has marginally benefitted from the development, both from government and the

developer. It has taken many years for these suburbs to realise an increase in their property values (Respondent 4, Interview).

While patient capital (investment that does not rely on quick profit) contributes to successful distribution of economic development (World Economic Forum, Apr. 2013), the objectives of quick, urgent profit to the Century City development was evident from the data collected both from the public planners and developer perspective. It must be understood though that the developer and investors needed to initiate the development for a quick, initial profit to ensure the future capital growth and success of the development. However, the focus on market-related industries of knowledge and consumerism combined and blended with economic, social and political conditions, may have excluded small business entrepreneurial, skilled and unskilled development opportunities.

Densification, environmental sustainability, economic growth contribution and access by providing transport orientated infrastructure are key components of Century City. However, these may be over-compensated for in terms of urban principles. The Background Paper 20-year review (1994 – 2014) for NDP concurs in that policy frameworks such as the IDP and SDF did not guide private-sector development and “developments have not always supported the overall goal of a more efficient, equitable and sustainable urban form” which have “not resulted in positive spatial outcomes” (Background Paper 2014, p7). The well-articulated CCUDF and subsequent economic success, may be factors that validate continuation of the development’s rationale.

All of the above being said, the complexity in the whole process and implementation of Century City and megaprojects in general cannot be underestimated. It takes tremendous conviction on the part of the developer. In changing economic, technological and social environments. This type of development requires continuous reviewing, adjusting, managing and maintaining. In preserving these developments, long-term benefits to communities and the economy are often overlooked (Insight, 2013). The study observed that most privately developed mixed-use megaprojects,

excluded skills training facilities and light industrial opportunities.

8.3 Urban megaprojects contributing to future planning in Cape Town

The research suggests that Century City may have been an ideal location to incorporate the existing surrounding suburbs and businesses to create an inclusive integrated mix of socio-economic communities and activities which would be an interesting objective for further investigation. Business and service opportunities are largely formal with limited small business entrepreneurial and informal markets. Inclusion of informal trade in the urban setting are valuable contributions to the economic market, and it is necessary to foster the smaller formal entrepreneurs into land use policies (Dunoon-Stevens, 2016). In this way inclusionary opportunities of small business enterprises and light industries could be accommodated in mixed-use developments.

It is recommended that a study of quantitative analyses of government revenue verses public funds used to support the project be investigated. Mixed-use megaprojects have contributed to urban growth; it would therefore be advantageous to determine the efficacy of that contribution. Due to the limitation of the study, referred to in chapter 3, it is suggested that a larger and more diverse spectrum of interviewees be included in future studies: that would include NGOs, surrounding residents and businesses, the consumer market and tenants. A detailed study is needed of how government can intervene and provide incentives in the process of approval of large developments to drive spatial integration, beyond job creation, road connections and densification. The developer has justified Century City by emphasising a City spatial vision of transport-orientated development, however, Cape Town's transport challenges have increased in the last few years, mostly because the majority of the middle to low income and unemployed communities live further from the city. A strategy and incentives by government should be developed on how to harvest from the expertise of a development such as this and engage private investors so they may comprehend the need to expand in the less developed areas, considering that many corporations depend on these communities for both business and as employees. Therefore, a field of further study to determine these profiles in

Century City would be beneficial to future development.

The 2017/18 MSDF has reverted to centralised development along the Voortrekker Corridor, Naicker (2014) argues that while policies and other legislative documents, such as SPLUMA, MSDF and MSA, are instruments of inclusive, equitable regulations, the majority of the marginalised are on the fringes of the Cape Town urban periphery. It may therefore be important to revisit incentives to developers to accommodate mixed income housing and entrepreneurial options. Further to this government, should be the leaders in cultivating transparent and progressive collaborations between private sector and the public, whereby all parties understand and work together to achieve the City's transformation goals.

Lessons from a development such as Century City should be reviewed critically in relation to its positives and negatives and how these can be incorporated into implementing successful developments of *both* public and private entities integrated with inclusive opportunities. It is therefore crucial that, while Century City has now positioned itself in the City as a node, providing some revenue and investment to the City, this development should be studied and examined more closely as to how the City of Cape Town can govern change and produce a truly integrated and inclusive city.

8.4 Concluding remarks

The literature and research findings confirm that irrespective of the complexity and challenges related to the implementation of megaprojects, "impacts are present in a similar manner in countries with different political and institutional systems and level of economic development" (Zekovic, 2016, 1 & 2). Elements such as the global scale of economies, tourism, mixed-use services and functions as integrated and inclusive, the promotion of high densities, international and national corporate investment, and often the revenue to local government, favour the developer's narrative. The mixed-use megaproject is advocated as a means to provide employment and thereby "social benefits, even though the principal beneficiaries are developers and business firms" (Fainstein and Orueta, 2008; p762). Opportunities and service delivery have vastly

improved and increased since 1994, however the evidence in this paper suggests that progress of spatial transformation of apartheid planning in respect of spatial integration has not yet been accomplished. Mixed use megaproject developments can contribute positively toward accomplishing actual spatial integration. However, this would require intensive partnerships with common goals between government, private developers and the citizens.

REFERENCES

Altshuler, AA & Luberoff, D. 2003. *Mega Projects: The changing politics of urban public investment*. Washington, DC: The Brookings Institution.

Amin, A. (2006), 'The Good City', *Urban Studies*, 435/6, pp.1009-1023.

Anabestani, Z., Satvar, R. and Hajiluie, M. (2016). The effects of mega-projects on sustainable urban development from the perspective of citizens (case study: Padideh Tourism Complex of Shandiz). *The Turkish Online Journal of Design, Art and Communication*, Special Edition, pp.374 - 396.

Bernstein, A. (2014). Spatial Planning: The future is Urban we should take advantage of it. *Business Day*.

Bhattacharjee, A. (2012). Social Science Research: Principles, Methods, and Practices *Textbooks Collection*. 3. http://scholarcommons.usf.edu/oa_textbooks/3

Binza, S. (2005). The evolution of South African Local Governments: the politics of memory. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 30(2), pp.69-87.

Bond, P. (2003). Debates in Local Economic Development Policy and Practice. *Urban Forum*, 14(2-3), pp.147-164.

Bond, P. (2018). The Degeneration of Urban Policy after Apartheid. In: P. Harrison, M. Huchzermeyer and M. Mayekiso (Eds), ed., *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*. [online] Cape Town. Available at: <http://ccs.ukzn.ac.za/files/Bond%20Urban%20Policy%20Critique> [Accessed 30 Apr. 2018].

Bornstein, L. (2010). Mega-projects, city-building and community benefits. *City, Culture and Society*, 1(4), pp.199-206.

Brenner, N., Marcuse, P. and Mayer, M. (2009). Cities for people, not for profit. *City*, 13(2-3), pp.176-184.

Brenner, N., & Theodore, N. (2005). Neoliberalism and the urban condition. *City*, 9(1), 101–107. doi:10.1080/13604810500092106

Brenner, N., Marcuse, P. and Mayer, M. (2012). Cities for people, not for profit. Critical urban theory and the right to the city. *Routledge*.

Century City. A Model of New Urbanism. (2015). *ISSUU*. [online] Available at: <https://issuu.com/centurycity/docs/10yr-2> [Accessed 16 Sep. 2017].

Chance2Sustain (2014). *Megaprojects and Urban Development in Cities of the South*. Work Package 2. Bonn, Germany: Chance2Sustain.

Choy, T. (2008). Neoliberalism as Exception: Mutations of Citizenship and Sovereignty by Aihwa Ong. *PoLAR: Political and Legal Anthropology Review*, 31(2), pp.338-342.

City of Cape Town (2012). *Densification Policy*. City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town (2014). *State of Cape Town 2014, Celebrating 20 Years of Democracy*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town, pp.36-48.

City of Cape Town (2015). *Municipal Planning By-Law, C36/03/15*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town (2015). *Operational Guideline, Circular 3/2015*. City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town. (2010) *Cape Town Spatial Development Framework. Technical Report*, Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town. (2013). *Economic Growth Strategy*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town (2017). *Proposed amendments of conditions: Century City*. Cape Town: City of Cape Town.

Connolly, C. (2012). Worlding Cities: Asian Experiments and the Art of Being Global - By Ananya Roy & Aihwa Ong. *Tijdschrift voor economische en sociale geografie*, 103(1), pp.120-121.

Creswell, W. J. (2003). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage (London).

Del Cerro, G. (2013). *Urban megaprojects: a worldwide view*. Bradford: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.

Donaldson, R. (2010). A model for South African urban development in the 21st century. In: *20th South African Transport Conference*. City of Tshwane: Vista University.

Ellerup Nielsen, A. and Nørreklit, H. (2009). A discourse analysis of the disciplinary power of management coaching. *Society and Business Review*, 4(3), pp.202-214.

eProperty News (2004). He's no Johnny come lately. *Cape Business News*. [online] Available at: <https://www.eprop.co.za/commercial...news/.../4320-He-s-no-Johnny-come-lately.htm>. [Accessed 20 Sep. 2017].

Ezzat Othman, A. (2013). Challenges of mega construction projects in developing countries. *Organization, Technology & Management in Construction: An International Journal*, 5(1), pp.730-746.

Fainstein, S. (2009). Spatial Justice and Planning. *Space and Justice*. [online] Available at: <http://www.jssj.org/article/justice-spatiale-et-amenagement-urbain/> [Accessed 7 Jan. 2018].

Fainstein, S. (2010). *The just city*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 1(2), pp. 57-85

Fainstein, S. (2013). The just city. *International Journal of Urban Sciences*, 18(1), pp.1-18.

Fainstein, S. (2016). Financialisation and justice in the city: A commentary. *Urban Studies*, 53(7), pp.1503-1508.

Firman, T. (2004). New town development in Jakarta Metropolitan Region: a perspective of spatial segregation. *Habitat International*, 28(3), pp.349-368.

Flyvbjerg, B. (2017). Introduction: The Iron Law of Megaproject Management, ed., *The Oxford Handbook of Megaproject Management* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), Chapter 1, pp. 1-18; URL for print version: <http://bit.ly/2bctWZt>.

Flyvbjerg, N. Bruzelius and W. Rothengatter. Megaprojects and Risk: An Anatomy of Ambition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 2003. 207 pp. *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 17(3), pp.275-277.

Gellert, P. and Lynch, B. (2003). Mega-projects as displacements. *International Social Science Journal*, 55(175).

Goldberg, M. (2014) The Rise of the Progressive City. The Nation. (2019). *The Rise of the Progressive City*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thenation.com/article/179145/rise-progressive-city> [Accessed 2 Oct. 2019].

Green, C. (2015). Century City MyCiTi Trunk Station and additional route open soon. *Cape Business News*.

Harris, M. (2014). Megaprojects: A Global Review and the Australian Context. In: *Festival of Urbanism*. [online] Sydney, Australia: The University of Sydney, pp.1 - 23.

Harris, M. (2017). Competitive Precinct Projects: The Five Consistent Criticisms of "Global" Mixed-Use Megaprojects. *Project Management Journal*, 48(6), 76-92.

Harrison, P., Todes, A. and Watson, V. (2008). Planning and Transformation Lessons from the South African Experience. *London: Routledge*.

Harvey, D. (2003). The right to the city. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 27(4), pp.939-941.

<http://centurycity.co.za>

<http://centurycity.co.za/blogs/century-city-water-fact-sheet-1519126525>

<http://futurecapetown.com/2015/11/future-cape-town-why-are-our-city-spaces-designed-for-serial-killers/#.WcEWKn1jV4Y>

<http://isandla.org.za/publications/74/>

<https://www.leekuananyeworldcityprize.com.sg/media/feature-articles/designing-a-just-city>

<http://libguides.usc.edu/writingguide>

<http://www.chance2sustain.eu/7.0.html>

<https://storage.googleapis.com/century-city/store/documents/...>

<https://www.engineeringnews.co.za/print-version/a-r11-billion-is-in-the-pipeline-for-century-city-2011-04-29>

<https://www.engineeringnews.co.za/print-version/new-western-cape-railway-station-built-2011-04-08>

<https://www.noseweek.co.za/archives/27/September-1999>

Ilesanmi, A., Morakinyo, K. and Jiboye, A. (2015). Evaluating the Determinants of User-initiated Transformation in Public Housing Estates in Lagos, Nigeria. *The International Journal of the Constructed Environment*, 6(3), pp.41-55.

Jordhus-Lier, D. (2015). Community resistance to megaprojects: The case of the N2 Gateway project in Joe Slovo informal settlement, Cape Town. *Habitat International*, 45, pp.169-176.

Kardes, I., Ozturk, A., Cavusgil, S. and Cavusgil, E. (2013). Managing global megaprojects: Complexity and risk management. *International Business Review*, 22(6), pp.905-917.

Kennedy, L. (2015). The politics and changing paradigm of megaproject development in metropolitan cities. *Habitat International*, 45, pp.163-168.

Koma, S. B. (2012). Developmental local government: Issues, trends and options in South Africa. *African Journal of Pubmic Affairs*, 5(2), pp.105 - 116.

Lehman-Fisch, S. (2011). Segregation, Spatial, (In)Justice, and the City. *Berkley Planning Journal*, [online] 24(1), pp.69 - 90. Available at: <http://escholarship.org/uc/item/1774k1bk>.

Lemanski, C (2006) Spaces of Exclusivity or Connection: Linkages between a gated community and its poorer neighbour in Cape Town master-plan development. *Urban Studies* 43(2), 397–420.

Lemanski, C. (2007). Global Cities in the South: Deepening social and spatial polarisation in Cape Town. *Cities*, 24(6), pp.448-461.

Longhi, S. (2009). Decision-Making on Mega-Projects-Cost-Benefit Analysis, Planning and Innovation - Edited by Hugo Priemus, Bent Flyvbjerg, and Bert van Wee. *Growth and Change*, 40(2), pp.380-383.

Madell, C. (2016). *A Historical Account of the Impact of Land Use Planning in the Western Cape – Elusive Spatial and Economic Integration and Inclusiveness*. [online] Westerncape.gov.za. Available at: <https://www.westerncape.gov.za/eadp/files/atoms/files/LAND%20USE%20PLANNING%20LAW%20REFORM%20THE%20ROAD%20TO%20TRANSFORMATION%2006122017.pdf> [Accessed 6 Feb. 2018].

Marcuse, P. (1997). Glossy Globalization. In P. Droege (Ed.), *Intelligent environments: spatial aspects of the information revolution* (pp. 29–47). Amsterdam; New York: Elsevier.

Marks, R. and Bezzoli, M. (2001). Palaces of desire: Century City, Cape Town and the ambiguities of development. *Urban Forum*, 12(1), pp.27-48.

Marshall, R. (2003). *Emerging urbanity: Global urban projects in the Asia Pacific Rim*. London, England; New York, NY: Spon Press.

Milnerton Transitional Metropolitan Sub-Structure (1996;1997; 1999). *Subdivision of remainder of erf: Century City*. Cape Town: Blaauwberg Municipality.

Montgomery, J. (2007). The new wealth of cities: City dynamics and the fifth wave. Aldershot, England: Ashgate.

Morange, M., F. Folio, E. Peyroux and Vivet J. (2012). The spread of a transnational model: 'gated communities' in three Southern African cities (Cape Town, Maputo and Windhoek). *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 36.5, 890–914.

Moulaert, F., Rodriguez, A., & Swyngedouw, E. (2003). *The Globalized City: Economic restructuring and social polarisation in European cities*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

MSDF Technical Report, 1996; MCA Africa Report, 2006

- Muller, J. (2007). The Comeback of the Century: Life after Monex the best retail property in Africa. *Finweek*, [online] pp.13 -16. Available at: <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/finweek-english-edition/20070816/281625300910911> [Accessed 17 Sep. 2017].
- NAICKER, K. (2014). Post-apartheid urban landscape reflects reconfiguration of power relations. [Online] available at: <http://www.unisa.ac.za/news/index.php/2014/01/post-apartheid-urban-landscape-reflects-reconfiguration-of-power-relations>.
- Oakley, S. (2005). Working Port or Lifestyle Port? A Preliminary Analysis of the Port Adelaide Waterfront Redevelopment. *Geographical Research*, 43(3), pp.319-326.
- Oakley, S. (2014). A Lefebvrian analysis of redeveloping derelict urban docklands for high-density consumption living, Australia. *Housing Studies*, 29(2), pp 235–250.
- Oakley, S. and Rofe M. (2005). Global space and local place? The Port Adelaide Waterfront Redevelopment and Entrepreneurial Urban Governance. *State of Australian Cities - National Conference*
- OECD (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development). 2005. *Local governance and the drivers of growth*. Paris: OECD.
- Oliomogbe, G. and Smith, N. (2012). *Value in Megaprojects*. University of Leeds, Leeds, United Kingdom, pp. 617-624.
- Ong, A. (2006). Neoliberalism as exception, mutation in citizenship and sovereignty. Durham and London: *Duke University Press*.
- Orueta, F. and Fainstein, S. (2008). The New Mega-Projects: Genesis and Impacts. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 32(4), pp.759-767.
- Pieterse, E. (2007). South African Local Governance: Ambitions, Experiences and Challenges. In: *Trilateral Dialogue on the Role of Local Government within a Developmental State*. Cape Town, South Africa: Isandla Institute, pp.1-17.
- Pillay, U. (2008). Urban Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Context, Evolution and Future Directions. *Urban Forum*, 19(2), pp.109-132.
- Pillay, U. (2008). Urban Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Context, Evolution and Future Directions. *Urban Forum*, 19(2), pp.109-132.
- Province of Western Cape: Provincial Gazette 7396, 29 May 2015.
- Provincial Government of the Western Cape: Department of Transport & Public Works (2012). *The Two River's Urban Park Local Area Sustainable Neighbourhood*. Cape Town: City Think Space, pp.1-39.

Republic of South Africa. (1993). *Local Government Transition Act*, 203 of 1993. Pretoria: Government Printer.

Robbins, G. (2010). Beyond local economic development? Exploring municipality-supported job creation in a South African city. *Development Southern Africa*, 27(4), pp.531-546.

Robbins, G. (2015). The Dube Trade Port / King Shaka International Airport mega-project: Exploring impacts in the context of multi-scalar governance processes. *Habitat International*, 45, pp.196-204.

Robinson, J. (2002). Global and world cities: a view from off the map. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 26(3), pp.531-554.

Roy, A. (2009). Why India Cannot Plan Its Cities: Informality, Insurgence and the Idiom of Urbanization. *Planning Theory*, 8(1), pp.76-87.

SACN (South African Cities Network) (2006). *State of South African Cities Report*
Sassen, S. (2001). Global Cities and Developmentalist States: How to Derail What Could Be an Interesting Debate: A Response to Hill and Kim. *Urban Studies*, 38(13), pp.2537-2540.

Scott, A. (2001). *Global City - Trends, Theory, Policy*. Oxford.

Shatkin, G. (2007). Global cities of the South: Emerging perspectives on growth and inequality. *Cities*, 24(1), pp.1-15.

Shatkin, G. (2008). The City and the Bottom Line: Urban Megaprojects and the Privatization of Planning in Southeast Asia. *Environment and Planning A*, 40(2), pp.383-401.

Shatkin, G. (2011). Coping with actually existing urbanisms: The real politics of planning in the global era. *Planning Theory*, 10(1), pp.79-87.

Sim, V., Sutherland, C. and Scott, D. (2015). Pushing the boundaries – urban edge challenges in eThekweni Municipality. *South African Geographical Journal*, 98(1), pp.37-60.

Smith, N. (2002). New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy. *Antipode*, 34(3), pp.427-450.

South African Cities Network (SACN), (2006). *South African State of the Cities Report*, Johannesburg.

Steenkamp, L. and Winkler, T. (2014). Linking Spatial Planning and Land Use Management in the City of Cape Town: The Case of the Package of Plans. *Urban Forum*, 25(3), pp.335-353.

Stewart, J. (2013). Learning from experience: A roundtable discussion with four megaproject masters. *Insight: The global infrastructure magazine*, [online] (4), pp.60 - 63. Available at: <https://home.kpmg › dam › kpmg › pdf › 2013/02 › insight-megaprojects> [Accessed 12 Dec. 2018].

Sutherland, C., Sim, V. and Scott, D. (2015). Contested discourses of a mixed-use megaproject: Cornubia, Durban. *Habitat International*, 45, pp.185-195.

Swilling, H, R. Humphries and K. Shubane (eds.) (1991) *The apartheid city in transition*. Oxford University Press, Cape Town.

Swilling, M. (2011). Reconceptualising urbanism, ecology and networked infrastructures. *Social Dynamics*, 37(1), pp.78-95.

Swyngedouw, E., Moulaert, F., & Rodriguez, A. (2002). Neoliberal urbanization in Europe: Large-scale urban development projects and the new urban policy. *Antipode*, 34(3), 542–577.

Todes, A. (2008). Rethinking spatial planning. *Town and Regional Planning*, 53, pp.10 - 14.

Todes, A., Karam, A., Klug, N. and Malaza, N. (2010). Beyond master planning? New approaches to spatial planning in Ekurhuleni, South Africa. *Habitat International*, 34(4), pp.414-420.

Turok, I. & Parnell, S. (2009) Reshaping cities, rebuilding nations: The role of national urban policies. *Urban Forum*, 20: pp.157-174.

Turok, I. (1991). Policy evaluation as science: a critical assessment. *Applied Economics*, 23(9), pp.1543-1550.

Turok, I. (1992). Property-Led Urban Regeneration: Panacea or Placebo?. *Environment and Planning A*, 24(3), pp.361-379.

Turok, I. (2014). The resilience of South African cities a decade after local democracy. *Environment and Planning A*, 46(4), pp749–769.

Turok, I. (2016). South Africa's new urban agenda: Transformation or compensation? *Local Economy*, 31(1-2), pp.9-27.

Van Zyl, P. (2013). Cape Town's V&A Waterfront Project Adaptive Re-use as a Foundation for Sustainable Urban Renewal. In: *49th ISOCARP Congress*. Cape Town: Head of Department: Environmental Affairs and Development Planning Western Cape Provincial Government, pp.1 – 10, Brisbane.

VPUU, (n.d.). *Precinct Plan*. [online] VPUU, pp.17-19. Available at: http://www.vpuu.org.za/files/pages/Example_precinct_Plan.pdf [Accessed 11 Sep. 2015].

UNHabitat (2012). *State of the world cities 2012/13, Prosperity of Cities*. Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Human Settlements Programme.

Watson, V. (2002). *Change and Continuity in Spatial Planning: Metropolitan planning in Cape Town under political transition*. 1st ed. USA and Canada: Routledge, pp.viii-ix; 1-41; 100-116.

Watson, V. (2009). 'The planned city sweeps the poor away': urban planning and 21st century urbanisation. *Progress in Planning*, 72(3), 151–193.

Yapa, L. (2012). Cities for People, Not for Profit: Critical Urban Theory and the Right to the City edited by Neil Brenner, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer. *Journal of Regional Science*, 52(5), pp.897-899.

Yin, R. (2009). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*. 4th ed. *United States of America: SAGE Publications, Inc.*

Zeković, S., Vujošević, M. and Maričić, T. (2015). Spatial regularization, planning instruments and urban land market in a post-socialist society: The case of Belgrade. *Habitat International*, 48, pp.65-78.

Appendix 1: Information Sheet



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ENGINEERING
M. PHIL. URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE: DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT (EM027)
END5037Z – Minor Dissertation

Informed Consent Form for Key Informants

Name of researcher:

Mariam Kamalie

Title of research project:

Urban Mega Projects: How they are justified and who they benefit. The case of Century City.

By filling out this questionnaire / answering the questions put to me:

- I agree to participate in this research project.
- I have read this consent form and the information it contains and had the opportunity to ask questions about them.
- I agree to my responses being used for education and research on condition my privacy is respected, subject to the following: - (tick as appropriate)



	Yes	No
My name may be used in the published research		
My personal details (e.g. age, occupation, position) may be included in the published research		
My responses can only be used in a way that I cannot be personally identifiable		

- I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this project.
- I understand I have the right to withdraw from this project at any stage.
- I understand that this research might be published in a research journal or book. In the case of dissertation research, the document will be available to readers in a university library in printed form, and possibly in electronic form as well.

Name of Participant

(or Guardian if participant is under 18)

:

Signature of Participant

(or Guardian if participant is under 18)

:

Date

:

The researcher must supply you with an *Information sheet* which provides his / her contact details, outlines the nature of the research and how the information will be used and explains what your participation in the research involves (e.g. how long it will take, participants' roles and rights (including the right to skip questions or withdraw without penalty at any time), any anticipated risks/benefits which may arise as a result of participating, any costs or payment involved (even if none, these should be stated))

Has this been provided?	Yes	No
Have you received verbal confirmation/explanations where needed?	Yes	No

Appendix 2: Information Sheet



UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ENGINEERING
M. PHIL. URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE: DESIGN AND MANAGEMENT (EM027)
END5037Z – Minor Dissertation
INFORMATION SHEET

Title of research project: **Urban Mega Projects: How they are justified and who they benefit. The case of Century City.**

My name is **Mariam Kamalie** I am conducting research towards a master's degree.

I am researching the *impacts of commercial urban megaprojects on cities* would like to invite you to participate in the project. The research project *investigates how these commercial urban megaprojects are justified, who they benefit, in the context of cities in the Global South and developing countries.*

I am interested in finding out about *how megaproject these projects align to government and planner's goals and objectives of a city as Cape Town.*

My intention is to interview people who were involved in *the planning and development of CC, such as the developer, planners and government entities if possible.*

Please understand that *you do not have to participate*, i.e. your participation is voluntary. The choice to participate is yours alone. If you choose not to participate, there will be no negative consequence. If you choose to participate, but *wish to withdraw at any time, you will be free* to do so without negative consequence. However, I would be grateful if you would assist me by allowing me to interview you.

I would be gratefully if you could answer some questions related to the CC development. It would take *approximately 45mins* of your time with monetary costs involved.

With your permission I would like to record the interview and it would specifically that I am able to recall what I might have missed out in my notes and will be used for my dissertation aligned to your agreement. Note there hardly ever is *any direct benefit to any participant.*

You should be aware that you may experience consequences as a participant with regard to discomfort, emotional upset, etc. but has all the right to stop the interview should these affect you. Your *confidentiality will be maintained as to your agreement on the consent form.*

The data collected will be used in the analysis of data collected for my research and compared to similar research done before.

Thank you for your participation.

Mariam Kamalie
Student Number: KMLMAR003

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

EBE FACULTY: ASSESSMENT OF ETHICS IN RESEARCH PROJECTS

Degree:

M/PHIL MINOR DISSERTATION END5037Z

Department:

CIVIL ENGINEERING

Name of Principal Researcher/Student:

MARIAM KAMALIE

Supervisor:

PROFESSOR VANESSA WATSON

Research Project Title:

Urban Mega Projects: How they are justified and who they benefit. The case of Century City

.

Research Questionnaire:

- 1 **Candidate:**
 - 1.1 Professional Planner
 - 1.2 Developer
 - 1.3 Municipal Official
 - 1.4 Other – state
- 2
 - 2.1 Name and Surname:
 - 2.2 Anonymous
- 3 **History of the development**
 - 3.1 How was the development initiated and what can you tell me about the development background?
 - 3.2 Who were the key stakeholders and how did they contribute to the development?
 - 3.3 What were the collaboration / agreement / justification between the developer/s, banking institutes, government and general public?
 - 3.4 Can you elaborate on how and in which way the development was to contribute the urban development of Cape Town considering the spatial planning inequalities, transport, accessibility and public services?
- 4 **Objectives of the development**
 - 4.1 What were the main objectives of the developer and how did they envisage it

o achieve this?

4.2 To what extent was profit key to the development and how was this achieved?

4.3 Explain the planning rationale and impacts on other developments and Cape Town as a city.

4.4 To what extent, how and for whom did the developer achieve a better quality of life and living environment?

5 **Local Government objectives**

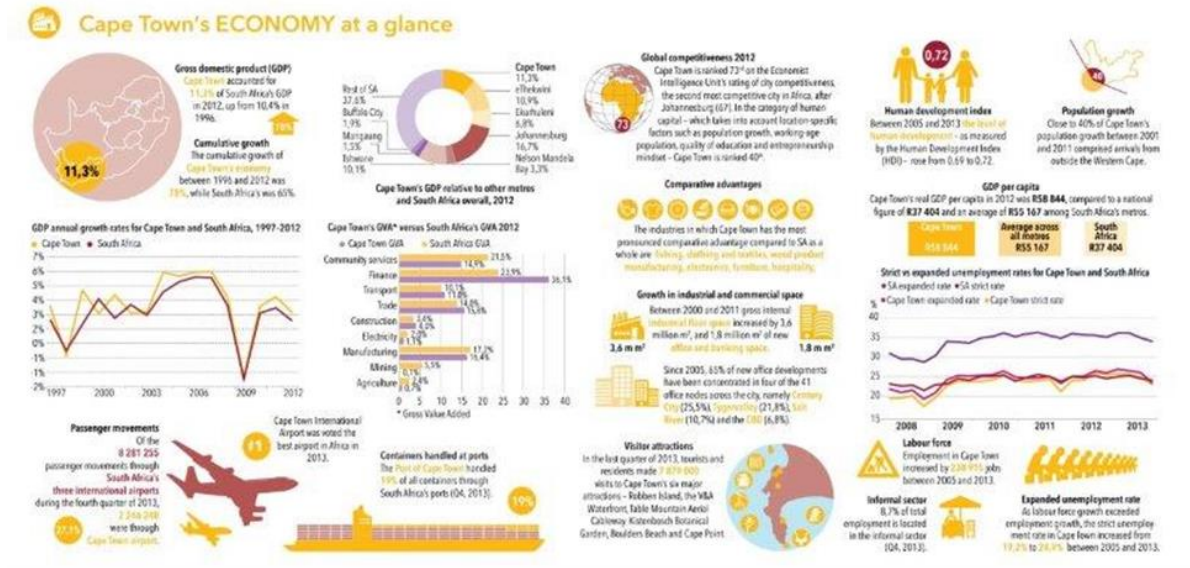
5.1 What were the main objectives of local government at the time and how did the development complement and impact those objectives?

5.2 How does the development complement the current City of Cape Town vision of an inclusive and integrated city?

5.3 How does the Package of Plan process contribute to planning principles and the City vision?

5.4 What impacts has the development had on municipal services and the surrounding residential and commercial areas?

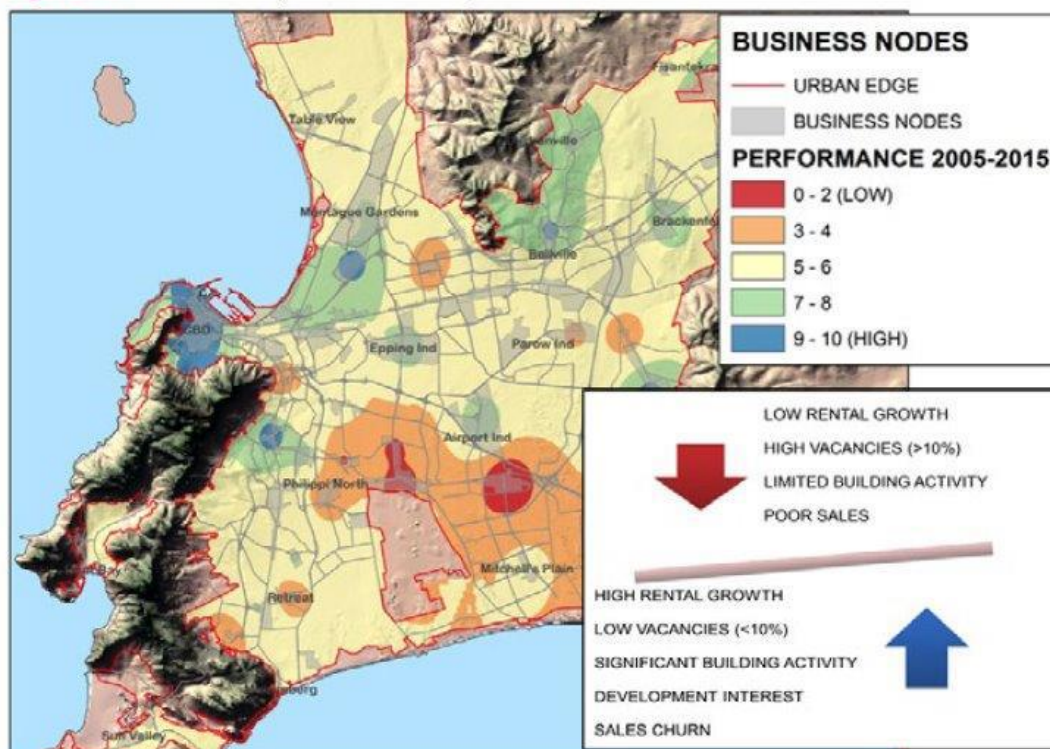
Appendix 4 2014 &16 CT Economy at a glance



Appendix 5 Business nodes performance

Century City is one of the nodes that have received the bulk of investment at 245% increase compared to the CBD of only 4% between 2005 and 2015 (State of Cape Town Economy report, 2016). It further report that Century City performs higher than other business nodes. See Fig. 29 The report indicates that inward growth, “contain the genetic material for long-term resilience” (p60).

Figure 2.18: Business nodal performance in Cape Town, 2005 to 2015



Source: City of Cape Town, 2016. ECAMP data platform.

Business node performance

According the Economic Report of 2014 and 2016, Century City contributes largely to the service knowledge industries and contributes 25.5% of Cape Town’s office developments. Century City has further contributed to the economic growth as a node GDP of Cape Town. The unemployment rate in Cape Town as a city has increased from 19.2% to 24.9% between 2005 and 2013 and the HDI index was at .72 between 2005 and 2013. See Appendix 3.

Wesgro 2013/14 report: *“Furthermore, Century City, a fast-growing location for businesses, houses some the most modern and exciting office*

space which is centred on “green” building and innovative design.”

Century City is currently the second largest business (finance, business sector, real estate and insurance), density of 39% after the CTCBD. The Gini coefficient of Cape Town value was 0.61 in 2017 (CCT-EPIC, 2018).

Appendix 6 2010 &18 CC property trends

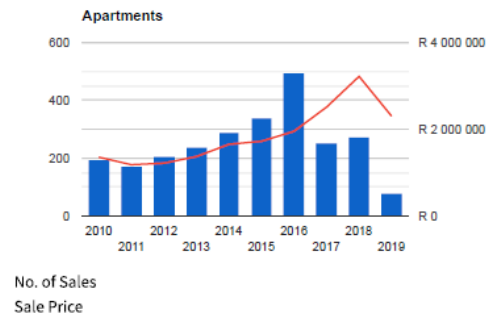
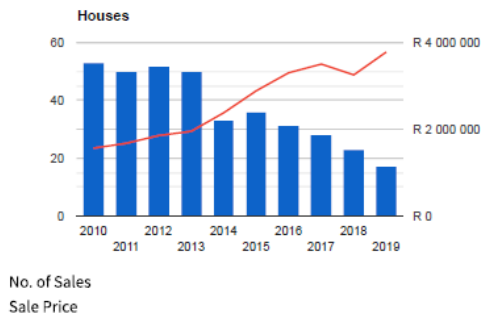
Century City Property Trends and Statistics

Explore these market trends to see the seasonal and long term changes in house prices and sales for **Century City**.

Sold Properties

[See all sold properties in Century City](#)

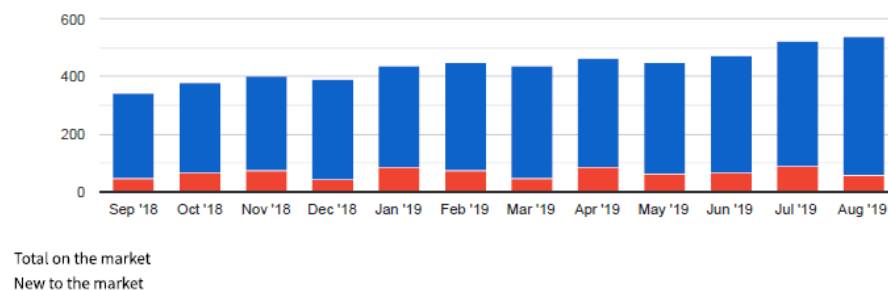
These graphs show the number of Houses and Apartments sold in Century City each year, and the average sale price.



Properties for sale

[See all properties for sale in Century City](#)

This graph shows the number of properties on the market in Century City per month, as listed for sale on Property24.com.



Total properties for sale

This table shows the number of properties on the market, by number of bedrooms, in Century City per month, as listed for sale on Property24.com.

No. of Beds	Mar '19	Apr '19	May '19	Jun '19	Jul '19	Aug '19
0 bed	6	8	6	6	9	10
1 bed	80	83	88	90	107	117
2 bed	194	205	199	199	224	227
3 bed	128	144	135	156	163	156
4 bed	27	23	20	20	21	26
5+ bed	0	0	0	0	0	0
All	435	463	448	471	524	536

Average Asking Price

Average asking price in Century City, as listed on Property24.com.

